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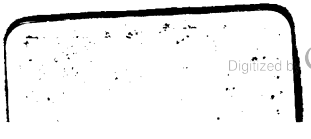
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SECOND EDITION OF

JEWS AS THEY ARE.

By CHARLES KENSINGTON SALAMAN.

London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., *Stationers' Hall Court, E.C.*
AND
Wertheimer, Lea & Co., *Circus Place, London Wall, E.C.*

EXTRACTS FROM A FEW OF THE NUMEROUS PRESS NOTICES OF THE FIRST EDITION.

"Mr. Charles K. Salaman's 'Jews as They Are' is a book which would have delighted Lord Beaconsfield, for it is pervaded from beginning to end by the triumphant spirit of *Sidonia*. We believe with Mr. Salaman that the German Jews are persecuted because Christians are jealous of their success. 'They take the lead in art, science, literature, and luxury.' It is the same feeling which before now has made Scotchmen unpopular in India and elsewhere. In the chapter headed 'Shylock from a Jewish Point of View' is brought together the archæology of the story. We specially commend the remarks on conversion to the supporters of the Jews Conversion Societies; but the whole book is full of interest."—*The Graphic.*

"Mr. Salaman's thoughtful and interesting work on 'Jews as They Are' is doubly welcome, since it is written in a singularly fair and impartial spirit, and shows up both the bright and the dark side of the great race, which, notwithstanding centuries of trial and sorrow, still remains united and independent. . . It would be impossible in a short review to give any but a faint idea of the exceptional interest which Mr. Salaman has contrived to awaken in his delightful volume for the Jewish race and religion. He is so learned, so enthusiastic, and writes in so graphic and amusing a manner, that one is carried away by his eloquence. There can be no question that his book will be widely read, as indeed it ought to be, and will tend to remove many erroneous opinions and prejudices. . . . The book, from beginning to end, is admirable and of much value, especially at the present moment."—*Morning Post.*

"There is not only much of interest to be learned from this book, but a candid perusal will suffice to remove from the mind of any candid reader prejudices indulged against an ancient and illustrious race. The first section reveals much information about the daily life of the Jews, and does away with that veil of secresy long supposed to surround the race. Mr. Salaman makes good his assertion that there is nothing mysterious in the social life of the Jews, nor about their creed or religious observances. Nothing is easier than to become acquainted with them. Many have been distinguished for their courtesy, their honourable spirit, and their breadth of toleration All must admit that many of the best men of our day are Jews, and that for philanthropy

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they are specially distinguished. *Shylock* has done duty, and very *erroneous* duty, for an entire race. Now a better spirit prevails, and to show of what the modern Jew is capable we need only mention the immortal name of Moses Mendelssohn, to whose memory this little book is inscribed. The Jews have still a great future before them, which Christians must not begrudge them, but rather rejoice in."—*British Quarterly Review.*

"A book so full of information on a vital subject as the able volume, 'Jews as They Are,' is sure of the attention it deserves. Mr. Salaman could not have written with such convincing effect had he not brought to his argument a great array of facts and opinions. . . . He shows how the best qualities of the Hebrew race have always developed most favourably in communities where toleration has been largest and most liberal. 'A contrast to the condition of Judaism in this country, where a perfect equality of creeds now exists, is afforded by reference to late events under the Russian tyranny. These are recapitulated with such concentration of authentic evidence as can leave but one impression on the mind of an English reader, Jew or Gentile. This book is remarkable as containing an essay, or short treatise, on 'Shylock from a Jewish Point of View,' which should be valuable as a contribution to Shakespearian critical literature."—*Daily Telegraph.*

"We are quite at one with Mr. Salaman in his belief that the world needs to be far better informed than it is as to the inner life of the Hebrew community. Among the less educated classes of Europe, the most astounding beliefs are still current in that connection, and to these foolish traditions are due, in no small measure, the aversion for Jews which exhibits itself in some Christian countries. England is not such a sinner against the much persecuted race as other lands that might be mentioned, but among her people there are still too many who hold the Jew in scorn, if not in hatred. Without doubt this feeling is very largely owing to the continued existence of the myths which were articles of faith among Christians in the middle ages. A vague charge against the community is that they have no feeling of patriotism. Ask the people of Paris whether there was any lack of patriotism there, when the Germans beleaguered the city? But patriotism can show itself in works of charity and philanthropy as well as in fighting, and when this second test is applied to the Chosen People their complete identification with the interests of the countries in which they live comes out very clearly. Wherever a Jew settles, of that country does he remain a peaceable, law-abiding and industrious citizen. As for the allegation that Jews enshroud their private lives in impenetrable mystery, there must be plenty of witnesses to the contrary in London alone. The charge that they are unscrupulous and grasping in money matters would carry more weight did it not usually come from those who have experienced the difficulty of trying to get the better of some Jewish money-lender. . . . Mr. Salaman has done well to take up the cudgels on behalf of his interesting race, and we would commend his book to the study of all in whose minds yet linger any of the old senseless antipathy to the most persecuted people in the world. . . ."—*Globe.*

"Recent events give peculiar timeliness to a book which has been issued by Mr. Charles Kensington Salaman, entitled 'Jews as They Are.' This is the title of the first chapter of the book, which is followed by a survey of noteworthy events connected with the past half-century of Jewish progress. Then

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we have a brief historical survey of the practice of usury in ancient and modern times; considerable information about the Jewish clergy in England, and other matter of value. This is a book which may often be referred to when information is wanted concerning the deeply interesting people of whom it treats. Mr. Salaman is to be warmly thanked for its publication." —*The Christian World.*

". . . . There is much worthy of consideration in the claim the author makes on behalf of his fellow-religionists to Christian courtesy and fair-dealing. This book is written with much good feeling, and contains a quantity of matter, historical and otherwise, that is worth reading. . . . The author, who has a chapter on 'Shylock from a Jewish Point of View,' shows that there had been many versions of the bond story We read that Germans claim to have discovered a version of the pound-of-flesh story, in which the Jew had to undergo, not to exact, the forfeit; and the occurrence is recorded as a piece of veritable history, taking place in the lifetime of the dramatist who chose to transpose the characters. All this chapter and appendix will be found interesting, and of the whole work we may say that it deserves a thoughtful and considerate perusal."—*The Queen.*

"Mr. Salaman's list of noteworthy events marking Jewish progress during the past half-century (1830-1880), given in chronological order, is useful, and shows great diligence on the part of the author. . . . His essay on Usury introduces some interesting details about the Caorsini, which serve to show that the Jews in the middle ages had by no means the monopoly in money-lending. The essay on the Jewish clergy contains some interesting details which are, we believe, little known. . . . The bad taste and doubtful morality of the Conversionists are pointed out with much force The book offers many interesting subjects to Jewish readers, by whom it will doubtless be welcomed as an addition to the scanty store of English books dealing on Jews by themselves."—*Jewish Chronicle.*

"The name of Jew is associated at once with religion and commerce, with music and philology, with dreams of the past and future, and very practical dealings with the present. A more curious compound of an historic 'survival' and a nineteenth-century institution can scarcely be pointed out than the modern Jew as he lives and moves among the unselect. . . . Mr. Salaman's aim has apparently been to prove that Jews, as they are, are not very different from other people. He is content to answer Professor Goldwin Smith's query, 'Can Jews be patriots?' by triumphantly pointing to the Master of the Rolls and other Jewish gentlemen who have risen amongst Englishmen to posts of honour and emolument. In an essay on the Jewish clergy he has shown by specimens that their sermons reach respectable rank in that class of literature; but he has failed to touch upon several topics which in most minds would be suggested by such a subject. How far have Jews been touched by modern rationalism? Is it true, as asserted by M. Renan in his own way, that the Jew who has given God to the world believes least in him? . . . In what light modern Jews regard Christ why they are eminent in music and acting, and so mediocre in the other arts? All these and a thousand other questions are left unraised, unanswered, and unexplained by Mr. Salaman. The book gives an abstract and brief chronicle of the interesting events relating to the Jews of England that have occurred during

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the past half-century; an account of the Russian persecutions; usury as practised in the middle ages by Popes and Cahorsins as well as Jews; and a thoroughly justified protest against attempts at conversion. It is especially to be regretted that the composer of such charming songs has not touched upon the interesting topic of Jewish music. Wagner's assault upon it is not yet forgotten, or probably forgiven; and it would be worth while hearing the other side from one who knows so much both about music and the Jews as Mr. Salaman."—*Athenæum.*

"Mr. Charles K. Salaman, well known by his musical works, and especially by a number of charming songs, comes again before the world in a literary character, and, treating in particular of Jews as they are, he tell us at the same time much that is interesting concerning Jews as they were, and as they never ought to have been. The history of the gradual liberation of the Jews from the disabilities which a hundred years ago weighed upon them everywhere in Europe was worth tracing; and the measure in which they have been endowed with civil rights might almost be taken as an indication of the degree of civilisation attained by the various countries which one after another has set them free Mr. Salaman, in calling attention to the position occupied by the Mendelssohn family—or rather by Moses Mendelssohn, grandfather of the composer—in Prussia, expresses a natural indignation at laws which restricted the right of residence, of marriage, and much else to a certain number of Jews in each large city. Mr. Salaman points out that in the mediæval tales of compacts with the devil, the diabolical agent was always a Jew. But the Jews may console themselves for this insult by remembering that, in the only tale of this kind which has survived in popular memory, the emissary from 'The Prince Imperial of the East,'—as Mephistopheles is called in the original version of the 'Faust' story,—is a monk of the unreformed Church. There are few questions connected with the present position of Jews which Mr. Salaman does not touch upon; and we may commend in particular to the purely literary student his chapter on 'Shylock from a Jewish point of view.'"—*St. James's Gazette.*

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JEWS AS THEY ARE.

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JEWS AS THEY ARE.

BY

CHARLES KENSINGTON SALAMAN.

"I will a plain unvarnished tale deliver."

"Speak of me as I am; nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice."

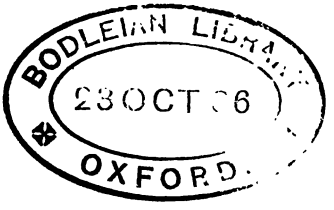
SHAKESPEARE.

SECOND EDITION.

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SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & CO.,
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LONDON:
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TO

THE IMMORTAL MEMORY

OF

MOSES MENDELSSOHN.

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ERRATA.

Page 71, line 13.—*Erase* "Chancery."
„ 77 „ 2.—*For* "Emille Léon," *read* "Emil Léon."
„ 79 „ 27.—*For* "Alexander Leon," *read* "Alexandre Léon."
„ 85 „ 31.—*For* "e," *read* "et."
„ 93 „ 8.—*For* "née," *read* "né."
„ 112 „ 19.—*For* "Esti," *read* "Este."
„ 198 „ 8.—*For* "Right Rev.," *read* "Very Rev."
„ 225 „ 7.—*After* "great living actor," *read* "Henry Irving."
„ 240 „ 6.—*For* "gladis," *read* "glado."
„ 249 „ 5.—*For* "saremo," *read* "faremo."

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JEWS AS THEY ARE.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In presenting to the public a second edition of "Jews as they are," I take the opportunity of acknowledging the generous appreciation which my work has received from all classes of readers, clerical and lay alike. I have been specially gratified by the interest evinced in the subject by my Christian readers, for whose information I had chiefly designed the book. The newspaper reviewers have, on the whole, treated my work with fairness and sympathy, though in a few instances the aim and scope of the book have been mistaken. In the narrow compass of a single volume of moderate dimensions it would have been impossible and absurd to have attempted to treat, in anything like an exhaustive manner, the wide subject of Jews as they really are; nor had I any intention of entering into

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the theological tenets of the Jews, or of reviewing Judaism in its aspect towards Christianity, though I have given ample references, on page 167 of this volume, to a number of Jewish writings on these subjects. In my collection of essays, however, I have simply tried to give a fair and unprejudiced view of the Jew as he is, and divested of that traditional veil of mystery which, through ignorance and prejudice on the part of his Gentile brethren, has hitherto surrounded him.

Since the first appearance of "Jews as they are," many noteworthy events have happened to mark the social progress and intellectual prominence of the Jews. Amongst the most important in this country have been the following:—

1. The general respect and admiration shown for the great talents of the Right Hon. Sir George Jessel, Master of the Rolls, on the occasion of his death in 1883, when the Queen graciously recognised the distinguished services of the deceased judge, by conferring a baronetcy on his eldest son.

2. The remarkable public demonstration of admira-

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tion and esteem exhibited by every section of the Jewish community, and joined in by the professors of all religious denominations, in all parts of the world, on Sir Moses Montefiore's entry into, and completion of, his hundredth year of life. And again the universal expression of sorrow at his death, and world-wide tribute of admiration and esteem for the memory of the famous and venerable Jewish philanthropist.

3. The creation of the first Jewish peer of the realm in the person of Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild, Bart., M.P. for Aylesbury, as Lord Rothschild.

4. The admission of the first professing Jew into the Conservative Government of this country, Baron Henry de Worms, M.P. for Greenwich, having been appointed Secretary to the Board of Trade in the Ministry of the Marquis of Salisbury (1885).

In addition to these noteworthy events, the Jews of other countries, notably Italy and Hungary, have witnessed many important advances in their political and social status.

In conclusion, I would remark that this book was not, as had been supposed, called forth by those bar-

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barous persecution of the Jews in Russia, Poland, Roumania, and Hungary, which excited so much righteous indignation throughout the civilised world three years ago, and which have, unhappily, not yet ceased to disgrace humanity. I had written the greater portion of this book before these events aroused attention, and only added the concluding Appendix in consequence of those persecutions, with the endeavour to give an enduring form to some of that valuable testimony to Jewish worth which then found expression in all the most honoured quarters.

CHARLES KENSINGTON SALAMAN.

24, SUTHERLAND GARDENS,
ST. PETER'S PARK, W.,
October, 1885.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

I. JEWS AS THEY ARE 1

II. A SURVEY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS MARKING JEWISH PROGRESS DURING THE PAST HALF-CENTURY, 1830-1880 61

III. A BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE PRACTICE OF USURY IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES ... 99

IV. THE JEWISH CLERGY IN ENGLAND 125

Appendix :—

1. Sermon by the REV. A. LÖWY, preached at the Consecration of the new Synagogue, Bradford, Yorkshire 160

Dedication Prayer delivered by the REV. DR. STRAUSS, Rabbi, Ph.D. 165

2. Catalogue of Jewish Sermons and Lectures ... 167

3. A List of some of the Chief Jewish Clergy in England 169

V. JEWISH CONVERSION 175

Appendix :—

The Mendelssohn Family 208

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PAGE

VI. SHYLOCK, FROM A JEWISH POINT OF VIEW... ... 213

Appendix :—

Various versions of the "Bond and Pound of Flesh" incident in "The Merchant of Venice," from the 12th Century 239

"The Roman Wager" (1585), from GREGORIO LETI'S *Life of Sixtus V.* The full Text in the original Italian 248

An English Version of the same 252

VII. ADDENDA.—PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA 259

Appendix :—

1. Russian Atrocities (from *The Times*) 270
2. Letter from Mr. Serjeant Simon, M.P., to *The Times* 275
3. The Memorial from the London Committee of Jews to H.I.M. the Emperor of Russia... ... 277
4. The Requisition to the Lord Mayor of London 283
5. The Mansion House Meeting, February 1, 1882:—
 Speeches by the late Earl of Shaftesbury, the Bishop of London, Cardinal Manning, Canon Farrar 284
 Letters from the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, the Bishop of Manchester, the Chief Rabbi, Lord Tennyson, the Master of Balliol, the Duke of Westminster, the Archbishop of Canterbury 301
6. Sermon by the Rev. W. Page Roberts 304
7. Sermon by the Rev. H. R. Haweis 305
8. Sermon by the Rev. Dr. Hermann Adler, Delegate Chief Rabbi 307

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No. I.

JEWS AS THEY ARE.

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JEWS AS THEY ARE.

I.

THE manifold changes which have taken place during the past half century in the civil, political, and social status of the Jews of Europe would alone have sufficed to attract towards the ancient and illustrious Hebrew race a more than ordinary amount of public attention and curiosity. But when to this has been recently added an unexpected and uncalled-for persecution of the Jews of Germany and Russia, mildly designated *The anti-Semitic agitation*, and a still later onslaught upon the Jewish people in an important English magazine, a more extended public interest has been aroused which has already had the effect of elevating the Jews of modern times to a higher and exceptional importance.

To exhibit Jews as they really are is the design of the following pages.

Strange, most unaccountable, and almost incredible as it may appear to those who have not hitherto reflected upon the subject, very little of a reliable nature is known of the daily avocations, the social condition and customs, the domestic economy, the religious and political opinions, the home and inner life of the Jews of modern times. There is nothing dark or mysterious in the social life of the Jews, nor

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about their religious creed, nor in respect to their religious observances. Nothing is easier than to become acquainted with them. Jews are naturally genial and social companions, and are famed for their hospitality. They cultivate the fine arts, literature, and all the refinements and amenities of social life with assiduity, and with more than ordinary liberality. It is surprising how absolutely ignorant are Christians of every country and class, with rare exceptions, concerning the Jews. The consequences of such want of knowledge, and even of the meagre, imperfect and uncertain acquaintance with the Jews of modern times, which, in some chance manner, some strangers may have acquired, have been to spread broadcast a considerable amount of misunderstanding, misconception, misconstruction and misrepresentation with respect to them personally, to their revered religion, and to their habits of life, which, in these days of active research and enquiry upon all subjects, of easy intercourse, and rapid communication with regions far remote, should not be suffered to remain without some attempt at elucidation.

Many Christians have doubtless passed their entire lives without having made the intimate acquaintance of any Jews of their own social rank. Others who have interchanged friendships with Jews on the footing of perfect equality have, perhaps, had no other thought or design than to attempt their conversion to Christianity. While other Christians, gifted with a larger intelligence and more liberal spirit, have been content to enjoy the esteem and confidence of their Jewish friends, without any ulterior

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hope, or wish to interfere with their sacred inheritance,—the full and free exercise of their religious convictions. So long as these are untampered with, Jews entertain towards Christians none but friendly sentiments. They would court their society: they would covet their friendship: they would meet them on terms of strict equality. That Jews entertain any dislike, or have any prejudices against those from whom they differ in religious faith is a popular fallacy. Jews are not monopolists in salvation! They believe with the late Rev. Sydney Smith, the liberal-minded canon of St. Paul's, that "A great deal of mischief is done by not attending to the limits of interference with each other's religious opinions; by our not leaving to the power and wisdom of God that which belongs to God alone." How much happier and more peaceful would the world have been—how much happier and peaceful would the world now be, if men had earlier recognised that fact, and would even now cease to intervene arrogantly between man and his Maker! "You have a right, they say, to believe what you please, but you have no right to believe what is wrong. Their own faith, they say, is so manifestly the right one, and yours so plainly wrong, that it is impossible any man can be sincere in his belief of it." "This," said the late Lord Chancellor Brougham, "is the fundamental doctrine of the code of persecution, stripped from the disguise of phraseology with which it is generally covered." If men would but consider the differences that prevail in the shape and character of God's creatures; the limitless variety in His works; the infinite dissimilitude in man's bodily formation

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and features; the endless variety in his mental capacity; the multifariousness in human thought, opinion, disposition, genius, belief, action, and inclination, he would not fail to recognise the Divine Wisdom in this marvellous variety. For any man, or body of men to endeavour to force all human creatures to hold identical opinions upon any subject whatever is clearly a presumptuous attempt to interfere with the natural liberty of thought. It is noticeable that many Christian orators and writers, when referring to Jews in general, persist in designating them "*The* Jews;" thus mingling in one heterogeneous mass, and placing on the same social level human beings wholly dissimilar in character and condition; Jews of all nations; the denizens of both civilized and uncivilized countries; those who happily live under free constitutional governments, enjoying the inestimable blessings of liberty of conscience, liberty of thought, liberty of speech and of action; and those who are still unhappily subjected to the capricious tyranny of despots, deprived of every kind of intellectual freedom, and of all the natural rights of manhood; the well educated and the uneducated; the well-bred and the ill-bred; those whose disposition, character, and deeds are exemplary and deserving of the highest commendation, and those who are the reverse. How manifestly unjust and absurd, therefore, is it to class together Jews whose daily pursuits would naturally tend to ennoble and refine their character and demeanour, with others whose occupations, perhaps not less honourable, would, nevertheless, be likely to produce an opposite result.

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The difference between the native Jews of one country and another is easily and clearly discernible. The greater part of the Jews of Russia, Poland, and Hungary are as unlike the Jews of England and of the British Colonies, whether of Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, or German origin, as are the Jews of France and Italy different from those of Greece, Persia, Abyssinia or Jerusalem. Writing upon this subject more than fifty years since, the late Isaac D'Israeli remarked that: "The Jewish people are not a nation, for they consist of many nations; they are Spanish or Portuguese, German or Polish; they are Italian, English, and French, and, like the chameleon, they reflect the colour of the spot they rest on. The people of Israel are like the waters running through the countries, tinged in their course with all the varieties of the soil where they deposit themselves. After a few generations the Hebrews assimilate with the character, and are actuated by the feelings of the nation of which they become part. What a distinct people are the Jews of London, of Paris, of Amsterdam, from the Jews of Morocco, Damascus, and the Volga!" "Every native Jew, as a political being, becomes distinct from the Jew of any other nation. If the Jewish military under the King of Holland were to encounter the French Israelites, the combat would be between the Dutch and the French. The Hebrew adopts the hostilities and alliances of the land where he was born,—he calls himself by the name of his country."*

Whatever may be their condition of life, or wherever may be the country of their nativity, all Jews, in their

* *The Genius of Judaism*, Isaac D'Israeli.

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religious capacity, as worshippers of God under the Mosaic dispensation, obeying the same divine commands, observing the same religious rites, and believing in the sublime doctrine of the perfect unity of God, are upon an equality. But even here, although adherents of the same revered religion, there must necessarily be a perceptible diversity among Jews according to the manner in which, as individuals, they observe the precepts of their common faith.

As among Christians and other religious denominations, so among Jews there exist infinite varieties of intelligence, disposition, temper, and opinion upon all subjects. Among Jews, as among every other people, men and women are divided into numberless classes, differently reared, differently educated and employed; occupying in the social scale widely different positions; influenced by distinctly diverse associations of the past and present; whose tastes, inclinations, talents, temperament, sympathies, aims in life, objects of ambition, demeanour, conduct, thoughts and convictions, habits, financial resources, and future prospects are as multifarious as the circumstances which might arise to stir them into activity. How illogical and unfair, therefore, is it to class a great people so diversely circumstanced under one common appellation! By neglecting, in past times, to judge the Jewish people alike in their individual and collective capacity, as other people, indeed by the only correct rule of judgment, they have been grossly and wilfully misapprehended, misjudged, and misrepresented, to their irretrievable injury.

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Jews claim to be measured by the standard of other communities. They do not covet undue commendation; but they emphatically protest against depreciation. They do not desire to be thought better than they actually are. Jews are but human creatures, and, therefore, like other human creatures, they are of necessity subject to the infirmities, frailties and errors common to humanity. They desire to be spoken of as they are; that nothing in their character and conduct shall be extenuated, nor aught set down to them in malice. Having endured from the wickedness and injustice of mankind more than eighteen centuries of suffering; having, more particularly in the barbarous Middle Ages, been subjected to every conceivable phase of wrong and misery; to oppressive and restrictive laws; to usurious imposts from royal and noble robbers; to the exceptional disadvantage of being forced for many ages to pursue, in order to sustain life, many avocations calculated to degrade and depress the human character, it should strike all men of an impartial and unfettered judgment who reflect seriously on the subject, and take into unprejudiced consideration the tremendous post-biblical history of the Jewish nation, as bordering almost on the miraculous, that modern Jews should have emerged from so terrible a state of racial adversity and degradation with so bright and promising an aspect as they actually present. None but a divinely-protected people could have done so! It is an unanswerable demonstration to persistent traducers of the Jewish people that they are an indestructible race, and destined, moreover, to develop,

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in the undefined future, the yet unrealised glorious designs of the Eternal. To crush, much less to extirpate the Jews, a people whom God graciously selected from all other nations as "His peculiar treasure"—sinful though they have been—has repeatedly been proved by the experience of more than eighteen centuries to be impossible! "The world," to quote the late Lord Beaconsfield, "has by this time discovered that it is impossible to destroy the Jews! The attempt to extirpate them has been made under the most favourable auspices, and on the largest scale; the most considerable means that man could command have been pertinaciously applied to this object for the longest period of recorded time. Egyptian Pharaohs, Assyrian kings, Roman emperors, Scandinavian crusaders, Gothic princes and holy inquisitors have alike devoted their energies to the fulfilment of this common purpose. Expatriation, exile, captivity, confiscation, torture on the most ingenious and massacre on the most extensive scale: a curious system of degrading customs and debasing laws which would have broken the heart of any other people, have been tried, and in vain. The Jews, after all this havoc, probably more numerous at this date than they were during the reign of Solomon the Wise, are found in all lands, and prospering in most. All which proves that it is in vain for man to attempt to baffle the inexorable law of Nature, which has decreed that a superior race shall never be destroyed, or absorbed by an inferior."* "The mixed perse-

* *Lord George Bentinck—a Political Biography*, by Lord Beaconsfield.

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cuting races disappear; and the pure persecuted race remains." *

There is a remarkable buoyancy in the racial spirit of Jews! When favourable opportunities present themselves they aspire to rise in the world; and in most instances, they attain, by perseverance, and the exercise of the essential superior qualities, the objects of their laudable ambition. Jews in general are observant, discerning, ambitious and energetic! Recognizing the fact that "there is a tide in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune," they watch the tides and avail themselves of the floods!

Regarding Jews from the social stand-point, no difference is observable between the highly educated, accomplished, and well-bred Jewish lady and gentleman, and the highly educated, accomplished, and well-bred Christian lady and gentleman! The mental discipline of both is the same. Their rules of conduct, and canons of correct taste, and refined and delicate manners are identical. Among Jewish men and women, as among Christian men and women, there exist many who are insufferably ignorant, vulgar, low-minded, purse-proud, and money-inflated; offensive snobs, rude and insolent alike in speech and manner. Among Jews, as among Christians, there are, on the contrary, highly-bred, highly-educated men and women: graceful in speech and manner: elegant-minded, of natures refined, charming, delicate and generous; charitable alike in thought and deed; and in demeanour modest, unpresuming, and unpre-

* "*Coningsby*," by Lord Beaconsfield.

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tentious! It has been a loss to Christianity no less than to Judaism that religious differences should so long have kept asunder such congenial natures! "Viewing," says Lord Beaconsfield, "the influence of the Jewish race upon the modern communities, without any reference to their past history, or the future promises of Israel; dismissing from our minds and memories, if indeed that be possible, all that the Jews have done in the olden time for man, and all which it may be their destiny yet to fulfil, we hold that instead of being an object of aversion, they should receive all that honour and favour from the Northern and Western races, which, in civilized and refined nations, should be the lot of those who charm the public taste and elevate the public feeling. We do not hesitate to say that there is no race at this present, and following in this only the example of a long period, that so much delights and fascinates, and elevates and ennobles Europe as the Jewish."*

II.

Jews do not claim to be exempt from malpractices, misdemeanours, and criminal actions in common with the rest of mankind; but they exult in the fact that, in the long catalogue of frightful, brutal crimes committed daily and hourly, of which the daily journals furnish reports, a Jewish name very seldom appears. From wife-kicking, assassination, and other unnatural crimes, it is shown by the published records of crime that

* *Lord Geo. Bentinck—a Political Biography*, by Lord Beaconsfield.

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Jews are happily free. It is indeed a most rare event when, in any country, a Jew is found guilty of committing murder, or even of shedding human blood at all. Jews are not more free than Christians from the perpetration of illegal acts; but their criminal offences are so infrequent that it has been the baneful custom of some journalist-reporters to publish the religion of each Jewish malefactor, thus conferring upon him a distinction which is always denied to Christians convicted, perhaps, of similar offences. The unfairness of such a proceeding is transparent! Drunkenness is not a Jewish crime. Conjugal infidelity is a most rare Jewish vice. There is, of course, a criminal class among Jews as among Christians: but their criminals are not characterised by acts of brutal barbarity.

The universality of Jewish philanthropy, irrespective of diversity of religious faith, has been, and is so fully and so substantially illustrated by the munificent public and private charitable donations of Jews to all kinds of Jewish and Christian institutions, established for charitable and educational objects; and their generous money-contributions upon every occasion of public and private calamity is so patent to the world, that an attempt to confirm the averment would appear to be needless. The domestic virtues of the Jewish people, in the sacred character of parents, guardians, husbands, wives, children, brothers and sisters, and friends—indeed in every relation of life—have been often freely discussed, and as freely admitted, even by their religious opponents. In 1833 the then Archbishop of Canter-

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bury, when opposing the removal of the Jewisn disabilities in the House of Lords, thus expressed himself:—"The morality of the Jews is derived through the Law and the Prophets from the Fountain of Holiness. With due allowance for human infirmity, I think it may be pronounced, that, in point of morality, the Jews stand well." On the same memorable occasion, the then Bishop of London said:—"As to the personal character of the Jews, so far as I have had an opportunity of forming an opinion, the results of my observations are highly favourable. I had once the care of a large parish in which a large number of that people resided; and I found them amongst the most liberal, loyal, and quiet of the inhabitants. It is a great pain to me to oppose their claims!" Sir Robert Inglis, the Jews' most persistent opponent, in a speech, also delivered in 1833, disclaimed "the common vulgar objection to the Jews personally," and he expressed a belief that "in this country there are few classes of the community who are guilty of fewer crimes in proportion to their numbers." He cautiously admitted, that, placed in such a situation as the Jews then were in this country, there were few classes who would be distinguished by such general good conduct.

That British-born Jews could efficiently share the burdens of State-service with British-born Christians was an idea that, fifty years ago, had not then become familiar to the imagination of men of narrow comprehension, who professed to view such a conjuncture with apprehension and dread, as fraught with danger to the British constitution! Many Christians

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unacquainted with the actual Jewish character failed to grasp the notion that a British Jew might possibly perform the duties of a British subject with as much ability, zeal, discretion, and integrity as a British Christian.

In the performance of their respective official functions many British Jews, during the past half-century, have had numerous opportunities of practically demonstrating their fitness for exercising all the duties of British subjects, without disturbing the Christianity of Parliament or the country; not alone with honour to themselves and their religious community, but with real and substantial benefit to their country.

Jews have always been remarkable for their consistent loyalty to the sovereign rulers of the countries of their birth or adoption. In every country which has bestowed upon Jews the equal rights of citizenship they have always been found to be active, and able, and willing in the performance of their civic duties. "The Jew," to quote an eminent British statesman, "has manifestly an interest in the State which affords him protection. . . . He is interested in defending and promoting the interests of the country which contains his family and property. He is interested in upholding the king's constitutional authority. He has a common interest with us in the maintenance of the national freedom. The Jew is as deeply interested in the administration of the laws of his country as the Christian." *

Since British Jews have been admitted to all the privileges of British citizens upon the footing of perfect

* The Right Honourable Robert Grant: speech, 1833.

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equality, to share the responsibilities, the burdens, the duties, and the honours of their native country, they are no longer "insulated." They seek not in any manner to be separated from their fellow-subjects and citizens. Their actions, their pursuits, their religious convictions, and their individual political proclivities are open to the inspection, the comment, and criticism of the entire world. It is a common error to suppose that Jews, as Jews, entertain special political opinions, and that all Jews hold identical political views. The reverse is the fact. Every individual Jew maintains his individual and independent political convictions. Jews doubtless owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Whigs or Liberals, who were the pioneers of civil and religious liberty in this country, and without whose courageous and persistent advocacy and political influence their admission to all the rights and privileges of British subjects would unquestionably have been much longer delayed.

III.

To suppose that Jews are more than other people greedy for the acquisition of riches is another popular fallacy. They are nothing of the kind. The impatient desire to possess wealth is universal! This is an undeniable fact of which we have daily and hourly experience. The "golden calf" is worshipped by the whole world! Even the vague reputation of being supposed to be wealthy is agreeable to many who possess no more substantial claim to worldly adulation. Mundane importance and social consideration,

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which would seem to be dependent upon the possession of riches, is the ambition of the majority of men of all countries and creeds, who aim alike at power, influence, and worldly distinction. Money is among the chief sources of influence and power. For many ages Jews were incapable of possessing landed property, and of holding offices or places to which power and influence were attached. Money was their only road to these much desired possessions. It should surprise none, therefore, that Jews, in common with other people, should have been eager to obtain their only means of acquiring influence and importance. It is therefore idle and absurd, unjust and illogical, to reproach Jews with possessing a more avaricious spirit and a more eager desire for the accumulation of money than other people. Dr. Barnard Van Oven — a once famous Anglo-Jewish physician—in his *Appeal to the British Nation on behalf of the Jews* (1831), wrote thus :—

"The Jew is accused of love of money; but it is forgotten that all other means of distinction are denied him; that he must rise by wealth, or not rise at all; and if, as he well knows, to ensure wealth be to ensure rank, respect, and attention in society, does the blame rest with him who endeavours to acquire wealth for the distinction which it will purchase, or with that society which so readily bows down at the shrine of Mammon? It is not pretended that the Jew is a miser, that he desires to acquire wealth merely for the loathsome gratification of hoarding it. . . . The Jewish merchant is generally profuse in his expenditure; he has laboured to gain riches on account of the

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respect which they will procure for him, and he is proud of expending them with the same view."

So great is the worship of money among all people, of all religious creeds, of all countries, and of all classes, that the almost frenzied strife to accumulate wealth is never-ceasing. To obtain riches many a Christian man has imperilled alike his body and his soul. A man reputed to be immensely wealthy, be he mean in character, abject in his nature, harsh and severe in his opinions, mentally deficient, rapacious, and hard-hearted, vulgar in person, and demeanour, ill-favoured in features and figure, intolerant and uncharitable, coarse in language and speech, will usually command an immeasurable amount of notice and regard, if not admiration, as the personification of the world's universal idol, — Money! Whereas if a man be known to be poor, or even limited in his finances, be he generous and kind, noble in his nature and aspirations, gifted with an agreeable manner and charming conversation, refined in his conduct and disposition, widely-charitable in thought and act, and moreover specially talented, he will scarcely attract attention unless by some extraneous circumstances he should be forced into notice. This is not a truism, but an important truth which should be deeply considered when it is attempted to judge the Jewish people.

Smollett furnishes a fearful account of the avaricious spirit exhibited by thousands of Englishmen and Englishwomen in 1720 by the delusive prospects of enormous gains promised by the directors of the South Sea Company. The scheme offered, it said, no

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substantial commercial advantages. It was simply a gigantic swindle upheld by the infamous acts of some of the most distinguished men of the period. In order to raise a capital of one million sterling the directors of the company promised to ensure to their subscribers three hundred pounds for every one hundred pounds capital subscribed. Two millions were forthcoming in a very few days, and the price of the original stock rose rapidly. This wonderful advance would appear to have driven thousands of fortune-hunters and gamblers to a pitch of money-madness. "All distinction of party," says Smollett, "of religion, sex, character and circumstances were swallowed up in this universal concern, or in some such pecuniary project. Exchange Alley was filled with a strange concourse of statesmen and clergymen, churchmen and dissenters, whigs and tories, physicians, lawyers, tradesmen, and even with multitudes of females. All other professions and employments were utterly neglected, and the people's attention wholly engrossed by this and other chimerical schemes, which were known by the denomination of bubbles."

Infatuated by the universal impatient greed for gold the highest nobility of this country, including the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Bridgewater, and the Duke of Chandos, did not deem it beneath their social dignity to accept the commercial position of governors to public companies and to become themselves stock jobbers. The South Sea bubble burst on the 8th of September, 1720. Then was heard the "gnashing of teeth," the ravings of grief, of disappointment and despair. Total ruin had suddenly fallen

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upon thousands who had confidently looked forward to become *millionaires*. The most eminent financier of the times, "the pillar of state credit," as he has been termed, the Rothschild of his day, was Sir Sampson Gideon,—formerly Sampson de Rehuel Abudiente, a descendant of one of the great Jewish families of Spain or Portugal,—the ancestor of Sir Culling Eardley, Bart. He was looked up to as an authority in money affairs. He, as well as his co-religionists, had perceived the unreality of the bubble schemes, and had risked nothing. Consequently, when their Christian neighbours were entirely overwhelmed with the loss of all, or nearly all, their possessions, the Jews were found to be unscathed.

When anti-Semitic agitators have sought to cast odium upon Jews as avaricious gold-seekers, money-traders, and usurious money-lenders, Shakespeare's imaginary Shylock, albeit a purely fictitious dramatic creation, has been found an effective war-spear to hurl at the heads of the Jewish people. These traducers would appear to have forgotten Massinger's no less imaginary Christian money-grasper, Sir Giles Overreach, before whose unsurpassed villainies the harshest vindictiveness of the insulted and contemned Shylock positively pales! I would ask, while in the realms of fiction, who were the adulators of the miserable Tittlebat Titmouse, when he was supposed to have acquired wealth? and who scornfully abandoned him to his former wretched condition when he was discovered to be moneyless? I would ask, again, were the *Dramatis Personæ*, Jews or Christians, who, in the late Lord Lytton's

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drama, *Money*, treated with cold and cruel insolence the intellectual gentleman, Evelyn, when he was thought to be a poor dependent, and who fawned upon him and almost worshipped him when he became the possessor of vast wealth? It would not be difficult to multiply *ad infinitum*, both from the realms of fiction and the romance of real life, instances of the inordinate love of gold exhibited by Christians. How unjust, therefore, to reproach Jews alone with a failing which is universal!

Christians labour under the very erroneous impression that Jews, as a people, are immensely rich. This is very wide of the truth. They doubtless gained the reputation of being the richest people in the world in ages when, in reality, through their superior intelligence, perspicacity, energy, and frugality, they had obtained the entire control of the financial world. To be "as rich as a Jew" has become a proverb; but, like similar proverbs adopted without reflection, and repeated from age to age, it is one entirely fallacious. The notion that all Jews, in all countries, at all periods, acquired their vast wealth by the vile practice of usury is not alone delusive, but *absolutely false!* When notions, however wild and unsubstantial, once take possession of the popular mind, and more especially of the minds of those who are but too willing to receive them, it is hardly to be expected that they may be ever totally dispelled. The term money was during many ages associated more particularly with the Jewish people, and with money was always identified the baleful vice of usury, otherwise the practice of exacting excessive profit, or interest, for the use or

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loan of money. Notwithstanding that usury—a term as offensive as its exercise—has been practised from the earliest times by every ancient and modern people of every religious denomination, as evidenced by the historical records of all nations, the character of usurer has been most unjustly fastened upon the Jews of all countries alone as an assumed proclivity—a special characteristic of their race, their religion, and their disposition: the fact being that, although many Jews, in many countries, in all periods, in common with Christians of all countries and all periods, have been engaged in lending money upon more or less excessive interest, at no period and in no country has the practice of usury—so called—been *limited* to the Jews, who, as a community, are unanimous in their detestation and reprobation of the too-often discreditable money transactions in which, in common with other people, some few, and very few, Jews have been and are engaged.

It is well known that men of all countries and creeds are ceaselessly engaged in practices most evil in their consequences, which, although they may not always come under the category of illegal acts, are not the less socially criminal, and morally vicious; and, moreover, fraught with danger alike to society and to individuals. Among such malpractices may be catalogued money-lending and money-borrowing upon excessive interest. Christians no less than Jews are daily and hourly engaged in this discreditable money-traffic, of which the daily journals afford undeniable testimony. It is said that this kind of money-trading is occasionally carried on by Chris-

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tians under Jewish names, and, *vice versâ*, that it is sometimes practised by Jews under Christian names; and that it is furthermore exercised occasionally by many tradesmen of excellent repute of both denominations. It is hardly possible to expect that the practice of exacting exorbitant payment for the use of money will ever cease, since, as History informs us, it has always been carried on by all nations of all creeds; as there will always be spendthrifts, luxurious over-indulgence, extravagance, capitalists, money-lenders, and money-borrowers. *Fiat justitia ruat cœlum!* Let the obloquy which may reasonably attach to discreditable money-lending fall *only* upon the transgressors! Let not those who are wholly innocent and unconcerned in such matters, who, moreover, emphatically condemn and abhor such practices, whether Christians or Jews, suffer the disgrace which they involve. Let it no longer be falsely and offensively asserted that "*The Jews*" are the most notorious "usurers" and money-lenders! Let it no longer be repeated, when a spendthrift seeks to rid himself of his money troubles by money-borrowing, that "he has got into the hands of '*The Jews*.'" Let the baneful practice be condemned without stint: but let Christians as well as Jews share the condemnation when deserved!

Since there exist no longer any restrictions in this country to prevent Jews from entering any profession; from holding any government or municipal office; to their admission to Parliament, and, in fact, to their pursuit of any vocation to which their tastes, inclinations, talents, or the possession of capital

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may lead them, Jews are now occupied in precisely the same manner as their Christian fellow-countrymen. They obtain their living by similar means, and in the same manner they become possessed of wealth.

When, during the barbarous middle ages, there was an occasional lull from excessive tyranny, and when the incubus of persecution and Christian hatred became somewhat lighter, and, therefore less unbearable, Jewish spirit, always naturally elastic, acquired hopefulness. At such comparatively peaceful periods many of those Hebrew literary treasures were produced which are now to be found in some of the most famous libraries of Europe. Mean and degrading as the occupations may sometimes have been by which the unhappy Jews in most European countries were formerly constrained to earn their daily subsistence, they never, at any period, entirely neglected the culture of their minds. All Jews were more or less learned in their sublime Law: it was always in their thoughts, in their speech, and in their hearts. Whether in poverty or in wealth, in adversity or in prosperity, Jews usually occupied their leisure hours in study, in contemplation, in learned discourses and Rabbinical arguments. Many Jews specially gifted with poetical genius were wont to employ themselves in composing psalms and prayers, in prose and verse. They also composed Hebrew Lyrics on secular as well as sacred subjects, many beautiful specimens of which have come down to us. Jews also then composed those pathetic chants, and some of those touching Hebrew melodies which are yet heard with

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admiration in the modern Synagogue. In intellectual force and mental culture the mediæval Jews —especially those of the Iberian peninsula—were far in advance of their contemporaries of other creeds. Thus when other nations were steeped in the mire of ignorance, and were wandering in the obscure mazes of superstition and religious bigotry, the more mentally-cultivated Hebrews, albeit always cruelly persecuted, occupied themselves, nevertheless, in erecting an immortal temple of literary fame, which, in after ages, should prove, that, doomed victims of the Inevitable as they were by the inscrutable decree of the Omniscient and ever-merciful God, the Jews were *not*, as is commonly imagined, continuously engaged in the acquisition of money as their sole aim and end in life.

IV.

In past ages Christians sought no acquaintance with Jews save when they were moved by an evil spirit to outrage and plunder them. Nothing could therefore be known by strangers of the nature of their religion and its observances, of their social and inner life. Extravagant and outrageous notions of their daily avocations, their domestic habits, their national customs, their religious convictions, and sacred rites, as unnatural as they were false, became widely circulated among their always hostile Christian neighbours, and by them implicitly credited without enquiry or reflection. Assuming an unjustifiable and arrogant superiority over Jews, their seniors in religion and

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civilisation, Christians presumed to measure them by the standard of their own then ill-conditioned intelligence. They stupidly ignored, as a religious community, the most religious people in the world—their own religious teachers! With insensate arguments they urged that because Jews declined to become apostates, and thus abandon their glorious heritage, their divine religion, they must of necessity be "infidels"! Christians presumed to determine, with dogmatic certainty, that because Jews persistently refused to recognise in Jesus the ANOINTED ONE whom God had promised them, and to acknowledge and worship Jesus Christ as God the Father, Creator, Governor, and Preserver of the world, they must *à fortiori* be without a God, a Redeemer, and Saviour! that because Jews would not consent to be "converted" to Christianity, they must of a certainty be doomed irrevocably to everlasting perdition in this world, and in the world to come! The Hebrews were wont to be insolently reviled by Christians as "misbelieving Jews," whereas they were, are, and ever will be in fact *believing Jews, i.e.*, Jews believing implicitly, and with unswerving constancy in their own immutable and more ancient religion. Christians in past ages, in their pride of temporal power, insultingly addressed God's "chosen people," His "peculiar treasure," then weak, unprotected, and powerless, as "infidel dogs"! "misbelieving dogs"! with the same contemptuous language and manner that Mohammedans in Arabia, Morocco, Tunis, and other Moslem countries have since used—as it were in retribution—to the Christians sometimes domiciled in those countries. Chris-

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tian children were taught by their parents and guardians, even in comparatively modern times, to treat Jews with derision and contumely, as Mohammedan children have since been instructed to treat Christians, and as the ancient Christian Normans treated the conquered Christian Saxons!

In his noble romance, "Ivanhoe," Sir Walter Scott has presented, in language as elegant as it is graphic, a true picture of the condition and treatment of the Jews then established in many English counties in the cruel Middle Ages. He has, with his magic pen, shown us how Christianity was practised in those evil days. His kind-hearted and gentle ideal Jew, Isaac of York, and his lovely, high-minded, and noble-spirited daughter, Rebecca, are photographic portraits. They may be accepted as correct types of the better class of the persecuted Jews of the iron ages of Judaism. Their dastardly treatment by the "noble" Christian knights—the Bois Guilberts, the Front de Bœufs, and the De Braceys—the "pink of chivalry," as described by Sir Walter Scott, is in precise accord with the too-well, and too-often recorded facts to be found in the sad post-biblical history of the Jewish people.

When we contemplate the manner in which the Christian religion was understood and practised during the "dark ages"; how the conquered of all countries cruelly suffered at the hands of their conquerors; how Christians treated their brother Christians who happened to differ from them in some points of religious belief; when we recall, moreover, to our memory the histories of the Huguenots, the Albi-

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genses, the Covenanters, the Calvinists, and Lutherans, the Unitarians, the Quakers, the Protestants, and the Roman Catholics—all, in turn, persecutors and persecuted—we have no astonishment left to devote to the then wicked treatment of Jews. It is clearly intelligible in what manner Christian hatred, intolerance, aversion, and prejudice were generated, fostered, and sustained through so many successive centuries of unmitigated oppression and inhuman cruelty, to the irreparable injury of the unhappy, oppressed Jews, and yet more to the everlasting disgrace and infamy of their persecutors, who, while preaching love and peace, breathed hate, and war, and extermination.

"To their unparalleled institutions, and because it was decreed that they should be a 'peculiar people,'" the late Isaac D'Israeli traces one of the causes of "the universal hatred which the Hebrews have excited in every nation and in every age." "They have had," he says, "to encounter with holy intrepidity and glory the antipathies and the calumnies which a 'peculiar people' only could have endured. In the election of His People, as 'His peculiar treasure,' the Deity accompanied the grace bestowed upon them by the trial of concomitant afflictions." "To their just veneration of the Holy Code which excited their contempt for the laws of all other nations, is attributable another cause which provoked the hatred of other nations for the Hebrews." "The laws of other legislators," says the same authority, "have passed away, for their views were transient as the glory of the people to whom they were administered; there was no holy

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principle in them of enduring potency to carry them beyond the state they governed. But the Laws of Moses, unaltered as they were first delivered to his race, breathing the inspiration in which they originated, and binding together the spirit of religion with the spirit of polity, after countless ages are now operating on their unchangeable people, still ancient and still our contemporaries."*

The preposterous notion with respect to Jews, which for a successive series of ages was popular among Christians of every sect and class, was that they were an inferior section of the great human family, differently constituted from the generality of mankind, and that, therefore, it was unreasonable to regard them as entitled to the same treatment as other members of the human race. Bigotry, gross ignorance, and superstition blinded the Christians of past ages to the significant fact that they were indebted largely to the Jews and their holy inspired Scriptures for their own Christianity; that the Founder of their religion and all the Apostles were Jews; and that when insulting the Jewish race from whence they sprung they were in fact insulting themselves and their own religion!

The Christians of the Middle Ages, in their excess of ignorance and fanaticism, professed to regard it beneath their Christianity to converse with Jews, except at arm's length, and in terms of insolent scorn; to be domiciled with them; to eat and drink with them; to think of them in a kindly spirit; in fine, to consider them in any other manner than as legitimate objects

* *The Genius of Judaism*, by Isaac D'Israeli.

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for oppression and usurious extortions. When it is considered that at the same period Catholic Christians would have condemned to the stake, without any compunctions of conscience, any brother or sister, wife or mother, who might have been charged with, or even suspected of, the crime of heresy, it can hardly surprise the thoughtful that Christians were unceasingly irritated and angered at the presence in their midst of a religious people, whom they despised and hated, persisting in the strict observance of their ancient religion, uninfluenced by dogmatic arguments, and undismayed by the fear of persecution. Christians themselves chose to regard Jews as a passive protest against their own religion, their religious doctrines, and themselves!

By some inexplicable process of reasoning, Jews were assumed to be wanting in human feeling! Mercy and compassion were supposed to be unknown to them: they were devoid of faith, hope and charity; incapable of tender sympathies, friendships and affections. Jews were further credited with the possession of an indefinable, unholy, mysterious kind of evil influence. Even the sacred Hebrew language, the language of the Bible, was imagined to be connected in some "uncanny" fashion with antagonism and peril to the Christian religion. So persistently were these inane notions encouraged, and handed down by tradition from age to age, that they at length became chronic—so to speak—and, taking firm root in the untutored popular mind, they became, as it were, deeply imbedded in the people's very nature.

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To eradicate Judaism and destroy its adherents was formerly the irrepressible desire, endeavour, and policy alike of benighted monks, priests, nobles, and princes. Any and every agency, however vile and savage, which might effect such a consummation was deemed legitimate and permissible: but they were always used in vain. The most improbable crimes were periodically laid to the charge of the innocent oppressed Jews; the wildest and most extravagant calumnies, the most impossible and unnatural stories were invented and circulated in order to bring odium upon them and their religion, and to increase Christian hate; and, further, to serve as an excuse for Christian sacrilege, outrage, pillage, extortion, massacre, expatriation, and, if possible, extirpation.

Because Jews, observing the sanitary laws of their revered legislator, Moses, abstained from eating the flesh of swine and other unclean animals and reptiles, they were sneered at and derided. It was deemed very "smart" and witty to scoff at and insult a Jew by offering to him the impure meats, which, in wisdom, the inspired legislator forbade him to eat. "The laws of the Jewish people constitute their religion." * Their religion enjoins purity, alike of body and mind. The Jewish law enacts frequent ablutions and abstention from unclean food. "With the Jew everything is ancient, but nothing is obsolete." *

The courageous constancy and determination with which Jews maintained their ancient and revered religion in opposition to the many ensnaring enticements and various insidious influences, and all the

* *Genius of Judaism*, by Isaac D'Israeli.

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sophistry with which Christians, in all ages, had unceasingly, but vainly, endeavoured to induce them to embrace Christianity, was naturally another permanent source of Christian hate to Jews. Their irrepressible attempts at conversion only served to endear to Jews more and more their own perfect religion, and to strengthen them in their own religious convictions, and to attach them by yet stronger ties to the hallowed traditions of their martyred ancestors.

V.

As the descendants of an illustrious historic race of inspired prophets, poets, priests, judges, kings, and mighty warriors, the persecuted, oppressed and degraded Israelites of the Middle Ages, who were scattered and dispersed among all nations, acutely felt the ceaseless cruelty, injustice and folly of their persecutors. With humble submission to the mysterious Will of God, they recognised the partial fulfilment of His decrees as prophesied by Moses; and, believing implicitly in their complete fulfilment, they hopefully looked forward to the future. Firm as adamant, they effectually frustrated every machination of their avowed enemies. Unbending as the forest oak, they foiled every insidious attempt to encroach upon the domain of their religion, and their hallowed convictions. When benighted Christians would reproach Jews with "blindness and obstinacy" in rejecting Christianity, they scornfully smiled, for they knew full well on which side obstinacy and blindness dwelt.

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They knew that they did not require Christianity; Judaism being all sufficient for them. They were conscious that whatever of good there is in Christianity is derived from, and is to be found in Judaism; and being convinced of the immutability of the Jewish religion, its efficacy for all ages, all circumstances, places, climes, and all conditions of life, they clung to their holy faith with tenacious constancy and courage. To vituperation they opposed disdain and indifference; while they exchanged Jewish for Christian hate.

Educated in the school of adversity, Jews became gradually indifferent to its uses. Living in a condition of perpetual perilous uncertainty, they were ever prepared for any sudden outburst of popular fury, and for any national calamity to which it might give rise. Whenever a Christian tyrant, or his nobles, or his people, were in want of money, and coveted the rightful possessions of the more wealthy Hebrews, they were wont to be charged with the commission of abominable and impossible crimes. Always upon perjured testimony Jews would be subjected to physical torture on the rack to force them, in their agonies, to confess themselves guilty. Then they would be proclaimed guilty, without trial; and would be doomed to pillage, imprisonment, and to forfeit immense sums of money; and often to wholesale assassination. No proofs of innocence would have had the smallest chance of acceptance. Jews were, besides, always held responsible for every fatality which might possibly befall the countries in which they were temporarily domiciled. Should a plague

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break out, the Jews would be accused of poisoning the wells, and would suffer accordingly. Should, during a protracted hot season, a long drought ensue, the Jews would again be charged with causing the drought, and again would be liable to suffer in heavy imposts, and usurious extortions. Should the coin of the realm, from the constant friction of use, be found to be of light weight, the Jews would again be condemned for "clipping the coin of the realm." Should a murder chance to be committed, and the murderer not be immediately forthcoming, some distinguished Jew would be accused of the murder in order "to procure blood," as it was said, "for the celebration of the Passover." The infamous, so-called blood-accusations, which, in former ages were frequently made against Jews, and which have been repeatedly proved by the highest incontrovertible ecclesiastical and secular authorities to have been absolutely false, slanderous, and impossible, have, nevertheless, even in modern times, been repeated in Mohammedan, as well as in Christian countries, when it has been deemed expedient to fan into a blaze the fires of bigoted Jewish persecution. So implacable has been Christian hatred that Jews have been pronounced capable of the most diabolical crimes and inhuman desires, upon mere imagination inflamed by superstition and ignorance. Their frequent savage treatment by Christian fanatics through countless ages, which would have demoralised any other people has failed to demoralize the Jews. Their sole comfort, their temporary alleviation from tribulation and national grief, and their precarious, short-lived happiness were in former ages sought for in

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the bosom of their united and devoted families. They found occasional relief from their heavy burden of misery in the congenial and sympathetic companionship of their own people. Confined within the limited area and lofty walls of the Jewries and Ghettos of Europe, the Jews enjoyed among themselves a certain amount of freedom, and occasional immunity from personal danger.

It were an error to imagine that during their many ages of national and individual sorrow, Jews ever entirely lost spirit, or confidence in God's mercies, or that they ever abandoned the hope of a brighter future. It is not an attribute of the Jewish character to yield to continuous repining, to grief, and to despondency. *Excelsior!* so to speak, has always been a Jewish motto! The "Children of Israel" had so long become inured to personal and national insult, to sorrow and degradation, and had so intensely fortified their minds to bear

> "The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
>
> The insolence of office, and the spurns
> That patient merit of the unworthy takes,"

and to submit, in silence, with a "patient shrug," to the gibes, the sneers, and the contempt of their inexorable foes, that they became at length tacitly proud in spirit, and disdainful of danger, and defiant of adverse opinion. Some high-souled Jews, although by nature stern, deemed it expedient to assume a humble and submissive demeanour. Others, conscious of their own mental superiority, more bold, and less yielding,

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assumed an upright and dignified bearing on every attempted encroachment upon their religious and human rights. Surrounded and encouraged by the sublime devotion of their beloved, faithful, self-sacrificing wives and children, the Jews bore their sad, inevitable destiny with courage and fortitude. It will not be difficult to imagine the frightful consternation that must have prevailed in Jewish households when some horrible Christian outrage upon the sanctity of their homes was apprehended; when their synagogues were pillaged and desecrated; and when some hapless innocent parent, or son or husband, was carried off by ruthless persecutors to imprisonment, torture, and death!

It may easily be imagined with what heaviness of heart, and with what religious fervour, they performed the strict rites of their sacred Sabbaths, their sacred festivals, and their fasts; and with what an amount of heart-earnestness they observed their most sacred fast, on their Day of Atonement; and on the many woeful anniversaries of their national calamities.

In their days of gladness they sang among themselves with heart and soul, as many of their descendants in hostile countries yet do, their joyous, sacred, and social national songs; and in their seasons of affliction—alas! too frequent—they wailed forth, in their synagogues and in their homes, their mournful melodies, as, when captives, their unhappy ancestors "sat down by the rivers of Babylon, and wept when they remembered Zion!"

Thus did the oppressed Jews preserve their religion, their sacred writings, their religious ceremonials, their

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creed, national customs, their religious and national characteristics, their poetry, and their music. Their young men and maidens were given in marriage, and their conjugal unions were blessed with a numerous progeny. Thus, by their continually increasing numbers, and their preservation in every part of the habitable globe, have the Jews demonstrated incontestably their indestructibility, and the truth of Jeremiah's prophecy, "For I am with thee," saith the Lord, "to save thee. Though I make a full end of all the nations whither I have scattered thee, yet will I not make an end of thee, but will correct thee."

"Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,
Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit spes animumque ferro."*

(HORACE, Ode IV., Bk. 4.)

Had generous natures then existed in this country and elsewhere; had common justice been known; had a truly religious spirit then pervaded the earth; had the miraculous preservation of the Jews been then thoroughly comprehended; had then the practice of Christianity equalled its theory; had the divine doctrine, "Peace on earth, and goodwill to all men," been then less "honoured in the breach than the observance,"; had the Jewish tenets, "Love thy neighbour

* Like an oak on some cold mountain brow,
At every wound they sprout and grow;
The axe and sword new vigour give,
And by their ruins they survive."

(ANON.)

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as thyself," "Do not unto others what you would not that they should do unto you!" * the Christian doctrines, "Love thine enemies!" "Judge not, that ye be not judged!" been actually practised by those who professed to accept them as the teachings of Christ, such sublime heroism, such unparalleled constancy, such indomitable courage and fortitude as were repeatedly displayed in the dark Middle Ages by the fallen, persecuted, oppressed, degraded, but always persistent and confident Israelites, should have drawn from their inexorable Christian foes their profound respect and highest commendation; should have excited their wonder and amazement; and should have been acknowledged as irrefragable proofs of God's never-failing providence and mercy to His chosen people!

Religion, however, in the modern acceptation of the term, did not then exist. The Christian religion was then a counterfeit, a name, a superstition, a fanaticism, a priestly domination working adversely upon the untutored minds of the weak and timid; it was then an arrogant assumption of spiritual power, strengthened by ignorance, and supported by intolerance. The Christianity of those benighted times, as exercised by a cunning, bigoted and most untutored priesthood, may be defined as an absorbing evil influence maintained by the force of despotism!

The mild and merciful religious precepts, alike of Christianity and Judaism, were then wholly ignored; and the men whose vocation and duty it was to disseminate the true principles of pure religion were those

* Rabbi Hillel.

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who most incited their fellow-creatures to hate each other; to despitefully use each other; to malign each other; to arouse in men their vilest passions, and to teach villainy by their own fell example. It may be well imagined that Jews were not favourably impressed by the practical illustrations of Christianity which they then daily witnessed. It was always the design of churchmen to stir up animosity against Jews, whose devoted adherence to their religion they were incapable of understanding; whose sublime heroism they were unable to value; whose passive defiant scorn they had not the sagacity to appreciate.

The sad records of the Jewish people prove, beyond question, that to the malignant feelings and fiendish passions of inimical Christians to whom the true religion of the Bible was then as a sealed volume, and not to anything evil in themselves, their pursuits or their religious code, have the Jews of the Past been indebted for every malicious calumny, and for the aversion, hatred, and prejudice of Christendom. These were also due in some measure to the venomous slanders and the cruel falsehoods contained in the many legends, romances, ribald and obscene ballads and libellous dramas—all of them "wicked inventions of the enemy," and written with the special intention of bringing upon Jews and their religion the malevolence of the world.

VI.

With the removal of every obstacle to Jewish progress in this country; with free admission to every

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honourable pursuit; and with an open pathway leading to every career of distinction, British Jews may now, with complacency, if not with exultation, take a retrospective glance at their anomalous position in the land of their birth half a century ago, and note, with honest pride and profound gratitude, their steady march towards the civil, political, and social elevation which they have since happily reached. They have now only to be true to themselves; jealous of their national honour; proud of their glorious ancestry; constant to their religion and its observances; and zealous in the discharge of the several duties they owe to their Queen and country, to be among the foremost peoples of the world. British Jews have no longer any dangers to apprehend except the possible evil consequences of a too-rapid prosperity—oftentimes more perilous in its results than adversity. That this was the opinion of Moses is evidenced by the significant warning he conveyed to the Israelites of old:—"But Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked; thou art waxen fat! thou art grown thick! thou art covered with fatness! Then he forsook God who made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation."*

Jews have never admitted, and never will admit the right of interference with their religious belief. Often in ancient times of unendurable persecution many Jews, less courageous than the majority of their suffering brethren, have found it expedient to succumb outwardly to physical force, and at the approach of the horrible engines of torture, to as-

* Deut. xxxii., 15.

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sume an exterior seeming which they have modified as speedily as possible by open retractation. The cruel history of the Spanish Inquisition affords ample testimony to this humiliating fact. Jews have never recognised, and never will acknowledge any assumption of superiority whatever over themselves in religious matters; and they boldly assert their right, as they have never ceased to do, to the most perfect equality in all things appertaining to religion. As a people, they have never conceded one iota of their religious principles to coercion, oppression, tyranny, or sophistry; and rather than do so they have suffered ages of cruel martyrdom. They have always presented a passive resistance to every assault upon their religion and its sacred rites; and have maintained a bold front, which, to quote the late Lord Beaconsfield, "baffled successively the Pharaohs, Nebuchadnezzar, Rome, and the feudal ages."

The Jewish race and Judaism among the nations of the world may be likened to a towering rock in the midst of the ever-restless ocean. Exposed through countless ages to the hostile influences of storm and sunshine; to hurricanes and raging tempests, fragments of the compact mass have, from time to time, fallen away, to be swallowed up by the foaming billows. But the parent rock—still rearing its lofty crest towards the skies—has remained firm and unshaken as of old; and will endure "for ever and ever, throughout all generations," to the end of time. The Jewish religion is to be found in the Pentateuch; it is confirmed by the Prophets, and

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lives with the descendants of those holy men to whom the Almighty Creator vouchsafed to reveal Himself. As for the disputed question whether or not the Messiah has already appeared, or is yet to come, it does not, in the slightest degree, affect the eternal truths of the Jewish religion, or its laws, which would exist had there been no prophetical writings but those of Moses. And what is the sublime faith which affords to Jews solace and rules of conduct for this life, as well as assurance and hope for the life hereafter?

Concisely stated, Jews believe in the Eternal God, ONE AND INDIVISIBLE, the Creator and Preserver of the world; the Redeemer and Saviour, and Universal Father of mankind. They believe in a Divine special Providence. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and in a future state of spiritual existence. They believe in the divinely inspired sacred writings of Moses and the Prophets, and of the "Sweet singer of Israel"—David. They believe in the resurrection of the dead. They believe in the divinity and immutability of the Laws of God, delivered to the Israelites by the hands of Moses, their appointed Legislator. They believe that the Eternal God is omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent; that He is acquainted with man's thoughts and actions. They believe that God rewards those who obey His commandments, and punishes those who transgress them. Finally, they believe that, at some future period, which is not within the power and privilege of the finite mind of man to compute, an ANOINTED BEING of the royal house of David, en-

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dowed with transcendental wisdom and power will appear; and that *then* will be fulfilled the prophecies which relate to that stupendous event.

With respect to the so-called Oral Law of the Jews, handed down, it is said, by tradition as supplementary to the written Law of God, the Jews of modern times hold various independent opinions, some accepting unreservedly the authority of the ancient learned Rabbins on points of scriptural difficulty, others receiving the comments and explanations of those ancient learned Doctors as the opinions of fallible men. But in respect to the fundamental principles of Judaism, there exists, I apprehend, no difference of opinion whatever.

Like the professors of other religious creeds, there are Jews, I admit, who unhappily are indifferent to their religion; who observe little or nothing of what it enjoins. There are those also who, partially or totally, may disbelieve Divine revelation; and who are what has been designated Philosophical Deists. But Judaism is not to be judged from the inconsistencies of its professors, but from its own inherent grace and power. The inconsistencies of its professors are not to be used as an argument against the all-sufficiency of the Jewish religion. The efficacy of the Christian religion might, in like manner, be questioned, for are there not amongst so-called Christians, Deists, Infidels, Atheists, and men who hold Reason alone to be their God and Guide? I am not the apologist of the failings or sins of the ancient Israelites. They grievously sinned against God. They have been punished! That God's anger

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is not lasting—nay, that it is appeased, is sufficiently evinced by the miraculous fact that, despite their sufferings of ages, Jews still exist, and with a glorious future before them. He must indeed be insensible to the inexorable logic of facts who could venture to call them outcasts from the visible tokens of His favour. Upon what other people has the gift of genius been more abundantly bestowed? Their talents, their learning, their distinction in literature, in art, in science, as philosophers, statesmen, lawyers, and, though last, but not least—for it implies mundane power and influence—the abundance of their wealth and prosperity, these are the wonder, as they are also the envy, of the world. These blessings, which can only be derived from God, would not be bestowed upon an unforgiven nation! These stubborn facts outweigh a thousand quotations. It is true that persecution has not ceased in some countries; but this is no argument in favour of the continued anger of God; it only proves that barbarism still prevails among the nations of the earth; otherwise it would prove too much, for have not the adherents of Christ been likewise persecuted in ancient, as well as in modern times; and do we not even now occasionally hear and read of the persecutions of Christians in the East?

VII.

It is a deplorable and humiliating fact that, notwithstanding a considerable amount of the long-existing insensate animosity and prejudice against Jews and Judaism has yielded to the spirit of the

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age, there yet lingers in the hearts of many Christians a residuum of religious antagonism in every respect worthy of the darkest periods of religious fanaticism. This doubtless will yield in time to the pressure of a more extended enlightenment—a broader humanity, and a more rational view of the duties which men, although professing different religions, owe to each other; and of which, even in these days of boasted increased civilization, the generality of mankind would appear to have acquired but a very imperfect notion. It should be borne in mind that while no practical religion can exist without belief, much belief may exist without the practice of religion!

From reports in the daily journals of the so-called *Anti-Semitic Agitation* in Germany and Russia and elsewhere on the Continent of Europe, it would appear that, although somewhat modified and temporarily dormant, the ancient vile spirit of Jewish persecution has not in reality died out. It is said that in Germany the Jews of that country are not now persecuted on religious grounds, but for their "tribal exclusiveness," —whatever that may mean—their disinclination to intermarry with those of a different religion, and because, forsooth, they are "a separate race," and therefore incapable of giving their "undivided devotion to the national interest"; and because, moreover, they are a "cosmopolitan race," with a "tribal bond, tribal aspirations, and tribal feelings of its own!" They are charged, also, with being "a power, and an interest apart from the nations, though domiciled among them." They are further libellously accused of "avoiding ordinary labour, and spreading over the

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world to live by the labour of others by means of usury, and other pursuits of the same sort"!*

That the foregoing absurd charges are, in reality, not the causes which have re-awakened the ancient dormant persecutions of the Jews of Germany, can be easily shown; first, because the assigned causes *do not exist;* and if they actually *did* exist, they would be inadequate to account for the recent unreasonable anti-Jewish agitation. The truth, which it has been attempted to conceal under a transparent veil, is that the Jews of Germany have been, and are, actually persecuted for their exceptional success in all their various undertakings; because, in fact, they occupy the most important professorial chairs in the German universities; because in the rapid race for wealth Jews are mostly the winners; because they therefore possess more riches, perhaps, than their non-Jewish neighbours; because they drive the best horses, and the handsomest carriages that money can purchase, and inhabit the most splendid mansions in Berlin; because, in fine, they take the lead in the world of art, science, and literature; because, moreover, they express their political opinions fearlessly in their places in Parliament; because, in some respects, perhaps, they may hold superior positions to some of their narrow-souled adversaries, whose envy and jealousy have, in consequence, been painfully excited. Jews of all countries have held their own through so many centuries of dire persecution and virulent opposition, compared with which the present spiteful and malignant *anti-Semitic agitation* in Germany is as naught, that they

* "*The Jewish Question*," by Goldwin Smith.

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can well afford to deride their actual traducers, if it were only on the score of the unpardonable and most strange ignorance which they display of Jewish character and conduct, and of their aspirations and daily pursuits.

"Tribal objects"! "Tribal aspirations"! "Tribal exclusiveness"! "Tribal bonds"! "A tribal God" "The Jewish question"! What does all this mean? Jews themselves know nothing of these bugbears! They are not aware that there is a "Jewish question." If there be a Jewish question, except in the imagination of the enquirer, What is it? And what is the reply to the Jewish question? Jews are decidedly of opinion, in common with the professors of all religious denominations, notably Roman Catholics, and Protestants, and Mohammedans, that it does not conduce to conjugal happiness to intermarry with persons of a different religious creed. Many very religious Jews have notwithstanding intermarried with Christian women who have previously freely embraced the Jewish faith, and who, in most instances, have eventually become among the most strictly-observant Jewesses. Many Jewesses have intermarried with Christians, and having followed throughout their married life their own religion, they have, at their own desire, been buried among their own people.

We find it written:* "If patriotism means merely a willingness to perform all social duties, and do good to the community, nobody can deny that it may be possessed in the largest measure by the *kinsmen* (?) of Sir Moses Montefiore. But if it means undivided

* "*The Jewish Question*," by Goldwin Smith.

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devotion to the national interest, there is difficulty in seeing how it can be possessed without abatement by the members of a cosmopolitan and wandering race, with a tribal bond, tribal aspirations, and tribal feelings of its own." It is most easy to solve the foregoing assumed "difficulty," but it is not so easy to imagine how such an insensate paragraph could have been conceived and printed in the latter part of the nineteenth century! The reply to the extraordinary statement that Jews who are surrounded by an assumed "tribal exclusiveness," and possessed of a disinclination to intermarry with persons professing distinctly different religions from their own, "are not the very best candidates for citizenship," is simply this: that Jews *actually have performed, and do perform*, and generally with distinction, the very important civic duties they are assumed to be incapable of performing. It may be confidently asserted that no Jew elected to a civic office, or indeed to any other public function, would undertake it if he were not prepared to devote to its fulfilment his best judgment and his most active and undivided attention. Jews are thorough in whatever they undertake! Sir David Salomons, Bart., M.P., in 1835; Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., in 1837; and Sir Benjamin Phillips, in 1859, performed the important and onerous functions of Sheriff of London and Middlesex, with exceptional ability and dignity, being, at the same time, quite unaware that they were endowed with a "tribal exclusiveness" which ought to have paralysed their "undivided devotion" to the interests of London and Middlesex! There have been Jewish Common

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Councilmen, and Aldermen, and Lord Mayors of London; and there have been Jewish Common Councilmen, and Aldermen, and Mayors of Liverpool, Bristol, Canterbury, Southampton, Portsmouth, and Taunton, who have efficiently discharged their respective and several duties with a total unconsciousness of their "tribal" incapacity. Jewish Deputy Lieutenants, High Sheriffs, and magistrates for several English counties have likewise ably executed their responsible commissions without being conscious of any "tribal" incapacity to perform them. The Right Hon. Sir George Jessel, as Queen's Counsel, Member of Parliament, Solicitor-General, Privy Councillor, and Master of the Rolls, has, I apprehend, never encountered any "tribal" difficulty in discharging, with extraordinary ability and dignity, his multifarious and most important functions. It has not yet been proved that the constituencies of London, Greenwich, Southwark, Dewsbury, Dover, Rochester, Nottingham, Pontefract, Hythe, Reading, and Aylesbury have suffered by the election to represent them in Parliament of the late Baron Lionel de Rothschild, the late Sir David Salomons, Bart., Mr. Arthur Cohen, Q.C.; Mr. Serjeant Simon, Sir George Jessel, Sir Julian Goldsmid, Bart., Mr. Saul Isaac, Baron Henry de Worms, Mr. Sydney Woolf, Baron Mayer de Rothschild, the late Sir Francis H. Goldsmid, Bart., Q.C., and Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild, Bart.,—all Jewish gentlemen, whose assumed "tribal" disabilities have not, as it would seem, prevented them from conscientiously attending to their parliamentary duties.

German Jews, like German Christians, certainly

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regard Germany as their only country; but their allegiance to their Emperor does not prevent either the one or the other, in common with Scotchmen, Frenchmen, and others, from establishing themselves in foreign lands for the purposes of trading, or of exercising their artistic talents. Colonies of Germans, both Christians and Jews, have for many years been domiciled in many parts of London and its environs, and likewise at Manchester, Bradford, and other manufacturing and commercial cities and towns in England. But although the German Christians wander into foreign countries as often, and in greater numbers, than the German Jews, they are not, it would appear, looked upon as a "wandering and a parasite race," although, in fact, they seek their fortunes in foreign lands precisely in the same manner as their Jewish countrymen. It is idle to assume, and without any foundation whatever for the assumption, that British-born Jews do not feel as great an interest in all that concerns the honour and prosperity of their native country as Christians do. There are many Jewish landed proprietors in England some of whom possess magnificent estates; and, consequently, they have as considerable a stake in this country as the Christian subjects of the Queen. Jewish landlords are admitted to be amongst the most considerate and generous. They study the comfort and happiness of their tenants, contribute largely to local charitable and educational institutions—irrespective of creed—and, in many instances, have presented free grants of land for the building of Christian churches and schools; and they dispense

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the genial hospitality of the true English gentleman with heartiness and munificence.

"I hold this maxim as the principle by which all civilized societies are bound together," said the Right Honourable Robert Grant, when, in 1833, he again urged upon the House of Commons the removal of all the Jews' disabilities which then existed. "When men unite together in society they combine for the promotion of common objects; they are bound to make common exertions, to sustain common burdens; and, along with the liability to these exertions and burdens for the attainment of that common purpose, they should be equally eligible to common honours and privileges. It seems to me that, as well on the ground of expediency, as on high moral grounds, this principle should be enforced. Let society be formed upon what principle it may, whether the rule of association be drawn from natural religion, or revealed religion, we are bound together by every tie, and by every consideration of justice, to take heed that our own particular differences of opinion should not be unnecessarily obtruded; and that, therefore, offices, situations, and privileges which do not involve the points on which such differences turn, should be common property. To deny privileges to any class of persons, on the ground that they are a small minority, is oppression;—to deny them on the ground of a particular religious creed, is persecution;—and both oppression and persecution are alike forbidden by the religion we profess; a religion which is founded on the principle of peace and good-will to all mankind."

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VIII.

Jews have no longer anything to fear from the inane attacks of mischievous, bitter-natured men, whose acid malevolence, under the fair semblance of justice and liberality, would tempt them to plant daggers in the hearts of an ancient, illustrious race, to aid oppression and to murder the grand reputation of a renowned people. The overwhelming force of Public Opinion is now universally acknowledged. All public wrongs must now perforce yield to Public Opinion—which has long been, and actually is in favour of Jewish progress. It is a vain endeavour to nullify the past half century's steady advance of the Jewish cause, which is beyond any human power to arrest.

Although impotent for working solid permanent harm to the Jewish people, I would not be disposed to treat the ravings of their traducers with the tacit indifference they doubtless merit. It is neither wise nor expedient to treat with proud disdain the aspersions of any class of men. He is not to be envied who would, under the guise of reason and justice, endeavour to injure the national character of the most ancient religious people in the world, who, slowly but surely, recovering from the baleful effects of centuries of wicked persecution, are now honourably rising in the estimation of the world by the active exercise of their superior intelligence, their genius, their social virtues, their loyalty, their limitless philanthropy, their unceasing energy, their financial ability, and their able and honest discharge of all the duties and

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responsibilities of citizenship which they are called upon to perform. It would be a useless waste of time and argument to attempt to convince such modern traducers of the Jews that they are not alone committing a foolish blunder, but an unpardonable crime, in striving, by every means, to excite a rancorous feeling between Christians and Jews, whose mutual interest it is to dwell together in amity and peace. It would be difficult to assign a rational motive which should induce a man to go out of his way to revive religious hate—to endeavour to sow the seeds of discord in a friendly soil; to strive to point the finger of scorn and contempt, not alone upon modern Jews, but even upon the Jews of the Past, whom, despite their human failings, God vouchsafed to favour and to pardon. It must indeed be gall and wormwood to the envious and bitter-natured Christian—to men of crooked minds and twisted tempers—to witness without the power of impeding it, the rapid and steady rise of the Jews of Europe, America, and the British colonies, and to be reluctantly constrained to admit the patent fact. It would seem to be, for some persons, as much a physical as a moral necessity to seek in calumny and slander some temporary alleviation from a plethora of mental irritation, which might otherwise tend to disturb their intellectual equilibrium:—

> "No might nor greatness in mortality
> Can censure 'scape; backwounding calumny
> The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
> Can tie the gall up in the treacherous tongue?"
>
> *Measure for Measure.*

"Oh!" exclaimed the Right Hon. Robert Grant, on

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the memorable 17th of April, 1833, "it is a hard task to forgive those whom we have injured! The Jews are certainly now protected from the rack, the axe, the wheel; but the persecution of base, and biting, and sordid ridicule still continues. The natives of Europe, however, have with one voice, put an end to the former species of persecution; and I trust that the time is not distant when they will join with one voice in sweeping away the latter."

Referring to the ancient records of the Israelites' captivity in Persia and Babylon, the liberal British statesman proceeded: "The king of Persia was told, 'There is a certain people scattered abroad, and dispersed among thy people, in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from all people, neither keep they the king's laws; therefore it is not for the king's profit to suffer them. If it please the king, let it be written that they may be destroyed.' Now this was following up the argument properly; but the king so addressed was Artaxerxes, who was as good a logician as the great man who addressed him. He saw from the argument used, that this person and the Jews could not subsist in the same country; only, instead of destroying the people objected to, he hanged the objector."

"The preservation of the Jews through so many ages," says the famous Bishop Newton, "and the total destruction of their enemies are wonderful events; and are made still more wonderful by being signified beforehand by the spirit of prophecy, as we find particularly in the prophet Jeremiah (xlvi. 28): 'Fear not thou, O Jacob my servant, saith the Lord,'

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for I am with thee; for I will make a full end of all the nations whither I have driven thee, but I will not make a full end of thee.' Where," exclaims the learned Bishop, "are now the great and famous monarchies (Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Syro-Macedonia, and Rome) which in their turn subdued and oppressed the people of God? Are they not vanished as a dream; and not only their power, but their very names lost in the earth? Nay, not only nations have been punished for their cruelties to the Jews, but divine vengeance hath pursued even single persons who have been their persecutors and oppressors. Besides many individual Jewish oppressors who came to an untimely end may be named Antiochus Epiphanes and Herod, who, after having become intolerable to themselves and their attendants, died in great agonies; Nebuchadnezzar, who was stricken with insanity; Flaccus, governor of Egypt, who was banished and murdered; and Caligula, who was also murdered in the flower of his age, after a wicked, short reign." The good Bishop then adds: "And if such hath been the fatal end of the enemies and oppressors of the Jews, let it serve as a warning to all those who, at any time or upon any occasion, are for raising a clamour and persecution against them."*

"Their history, alas! contains many dismal instances of the oppressions they have endured—none of the injuries they have inflicted."†

A citation from the glorious oration delivered in the House of Commons on the 17th April, 1833, by

* Bishop Newton, *Dissertations on the Prophecies.*

† Lord Bexley's Speech in the House of Lords (1833).

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the Right Hon. Thomas Babington Macaulay, when urging the claims of the British Jews, would appear to be pertinent to this subject.

"We are told," said the large-minded statesman, "that the Jews are naturally a mean race, a sordid race, a money-getting race, that they are averse to honourable callings, that they neither sow nor reap, that they have neither flocks nor herds, that usury is the only pursuit for which they are fit, that they are destitute of all elevated and amiable sentiments. Such has in every age been the reasoning of bigots. They never fail to plead in justification of persecution the vices which persecution has engendered. We drive them to mean occupations, and then reproach them for not embracing honourable professions. We long forbade them to possess land, and we complain that they chiefly occupy themselves in trade. There is nothing in their national character which unfits them for the highest duties of citizens. In the infancy of civilization, when our island was as savage as New Guinea, when letters and arts were still unknown to heathens, when scarcely a thatched hut stood in what was the site of Rome, this contemned people had their fenced cities and cedar palaces, their splendid temples, their fleets of merchant ships, their schools of sacred learning, their great statesmen, their soldiers, their natural philosophers, their historians and their poets. What nation ever contended more manfully against overwhelming odds for its independence and religion? What nation in its last agonies gave such signal proofs of what may be accomplished by a brave despair? Let us open to them the House

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of Commons. Let us open to them every career to which ability and energy can be displayed. Till we have done this, let us not presume to say there is no genius among the countrymen of Isaiah, no heroism among the descendants of the Maccabees."

In Scriptural language the Israelites are designated a "Peculiar People." Modern Jews glory in the appellation, considering from whom it emanated. Their peculiarity, among other religious and national characteristics, consists in this:—They have outlived tyrannic oppression and persecution in all civilized countries: they have risen above "back-wounding calumny" and vulgar prejudices among enlightened peoples: they have been borne upon the wings of progress: they are now among the foremost in the universal race for intellectual and social development: they have resolved, henceforth, to lead, as well as to follow: they have determined to repress, by moral means, every offensive attempt of their traducers to disparage them in the eye of the world; and they have, moreover, resolved to enforce reverence and respect for their ancient sublime religion and its sacred observances by their own example. They will continue, with unwavering decision and constancy, to pursue their onward, upward course of mental and social improvement; and, interfering with none, they will permit no intrusion or interference with themselves in religious matters; but, in accordance with the divine precepts of their creed, they will continue to acknowledge all good men and women as their brethren and sisters, whatever may be their nationality, or their spiritual faith.

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No. II.

A SURVEY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS MARKING JEWISH PROGRESS DURING THE PAST HALF CENTURY, 1830-1880.

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"THIS PEOPLE HAVE I FORMED FOR MYSELF."
Isaiah xliii. 21.

"AND THEY SHALL BE MINE, SAITH THE LORD OF HOSTS, AND I WILL SPARE THEM, AS A MAN SPARETH HIS OWN SON THAT SERVETH HIM." *Malachi* iii. 17.

"I, THE LORD, HAVE SPOKEN IT; IT SHALL COME TO PASS; AND I WILL DO IT." *Ezekiel* xxiv. 14.

"I AM THE LORD: I CHANGE NOT." *Malachi* iii. 6.

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No. II.

A SURVEY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS MARKING JEWISH PROGRESS DURING THE PAST HALF CENTURY, 1830-1880.

THE gradual steady advancement of the Jews of Europe, notably of this country and Italy, during the past half century has been so remarkable as to deserve the attentive consideration alike of Christians and of Jews. Of the former, as an illustration of the irresistible force of public opinion when directed towards the attainment of a righteous object; of the latter, as an exemplification of the priceless value of continuous energy, patience, and perseverance. The significant fact that the rapid progress of the Jews has awakened in some countries envy, jealousy, and unconcealed enmity is conclusive evidence that the Jews of those countries who have arrived at distinction have real cause for congratulation.

The first decisive move in the direction of civil and religious liberty in this country was the repeal of the *Test and Corporation Acts* in 1828. This first gleam of hope was hailed with exultation alike by Roman Catholics, Christian Dissenters, and British Jews. An unintentional consequence of the addition of a clause in the new declaration required from all persons appointed to government offices was to exclude British-born Jews for many years from being eligible for government and municipal offices, and from admission

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to Parliament. This clause was the phrase, "On the true faith of a Christian," appended to the Oath of Abjuration. This oath abjured that "Damnable doctrine" that Princes may be excommunicated for heresy, &c., and it ended thus: "And this I do swear without mental reservation or equivocation upon the true faith of a Christian." This addendum was proposed as a protection against any mental reservation on the part of Roman Catholics to jurisdiction in this country. Although not originally intended to affect Jews, the opponents of Jewish interests found it expedient to retain the asseveration as long as possible as a bar to the Jews' admission to Parliament and to offices under the crown, and also to municipal and corporation offices.

The *Roman Catholics' Emancipation Bill* became law in 1829. It was considered at that date that the period had arrived when an attempt might be reasonably made to relieve also British Jews from the many civil and political disabilities from which they were then suffering. The first bill to effect that purpose was introduced to the House of Commons by the Right Hon. Robert Grant, on the 5th of April, 1830, and was once read. The bill was lost at the second reading, as expected. The subject of Jewish emancipation was then quite new, and its mere proposal in Parliament was therefore regarded as a kind of national heresy, so to speak, by those who were incapable of grasping the novel idea. The public mind was so wholly engrossed with the subject of Parliamentary reform during the sessions of 1831 and 1832 that it was deemed expedient to allow the ques-

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tion of Jewish emancipation to remain for awhile in abeyance. The interests of British Jews were, however, not neglected, for in 1831 they were, for the first time, admitted freemen of the city of London. In 1833 the excitement attending Parliamentary reform had subsided. A reformed House of Commons had been elected, and a Whig government was in office. On the 17th of April, 1833, the Right Hon. Robert Grant, a member of Earl Grey's government, in an eloquent and exhaustive speech introduced a second *Jews' Disabilities Bill*, which was most ably supported by Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay in a maiden speech of surpassing excellence, by Mr. Joseph Hume, Mr. Daniel O'Connell, and other prominent Whig members. It was strenuously opposed by Sir Robert Inglis with his whole artillery of argument, and by other Tory members. The bill, nevertheless, passed the second and third readings by large majorities, and was soon after introduced to the House of Lords by Lord Rexley in a brilliant and statesman-like speech. The bill was powerfully supported by the Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Whately), by the Lord Chancellor (Brougham), the Bishop of Chichester, the Duke of Sussex, and other distinguished Whig peers. It was opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and by the Bishop of London, both, however, eulogising the personal character of the Jews of this country; by the Duke of Gloucester, and by the late Duke of Wellington. The bill was, however, lost by a majority of fifty.

1833. Mr. Francis Henry Goldsmid was called to the Bar by the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn in 1833,

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after much discussion, he being the first Jew ever admitted to the English Bar. On the 28th May, 1834, a third Jews' Emancipation Bill was presented to the House of Commons. Having passed the several stages in the Lower House, it reached the Upper House, where the measure was rejected upon the second reading, on the 23rd of June of the same year.

1835. Mr. David Salomons was elected Sheriff of London and Middlesex in 1835; and to enable him to serve the office without subscribing to the declaration "On the true faith of a Christian," a bill was passed, entitled *The Sheriffs' Declaration Act.* In the same year Mr. Salomons was elected Alderman of the Ward of Aldgate, but in consequence of being unable to take the Abjuration Oath as presented to him, he could not accept the office. Legal proceedings ensued; the Court of Aldermen declared the office vacant, and a Christian Alderman was elected.

Mr. Joseph J. Sylvester, of St. John's, Cambridge —the first Jew who had entered that university— obtained, in 1835, the academical distinction of Second Wrangler; but as a professor of the Jewish faith he was debarred from taking his degree.

In this and the following year, 1836, some honours were conferred upon a few European Jews, which, in our day, would be regarded as of small importance, but which, in former years, were recognised as significant indications of Jewish advancement in public estimation. M. De Castro received from the King of the Netherlands the Knighthood of the Belgic Lion; the Knighthood of the Legion of Honour was conferred upon M. Meyers, of Amsterdam, by Louis Philippe,

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and M. Nunez was created a member of the Equestrian Order of the Province of Holland.

It had long been observed by those who comprehended the spirit of the age that the implacable antagonism to Jewish progress in this country must perforce yield in time to the pressure of patience, perseverance, and public opinion. It was remarked by Sir James Mackintosh in 1830, and the remark was repeated in 1833 by Mr. Macaulay, that "the real difficulty in speaking in favour of the Jews arose from the circumstance of there being no valid arguments advanced against them." The inveterate opposition to Jewish advancement then exhibited by Tories and Conservatives seemed to have benumbed, so to speak, their reasoning faculties, and to have blinded their eyes to facts which were daily becoming more clearly apparent. Their strongest argument, repeated *ad nauseam*, was this:—That England, her people, and her Parliament were exclusively Christian; that Christianity was part and parcel of the land, and that if Jews once obtained admission to Parliament, to the bench, to the magistracy, and to offices under the crown, all would cease to be Christian, and consequently all would be doomed to perdition, or, as it were, to an indefinable, inevitable national calamity. It is well known that that argument which was deemed unanswerable by its advancers was answered powerfully and repeatedly by some of the greatest logicians, writers and orators of the period, without, however, producing much practical effect upon the still persistent antagonists of the Jewish cause.

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We have happily lived to see the fallacy and absurdity of those adverse opinions, together with the total failure of many sinister predictions; for, notwithstanding that several Jewish gentlemen have sat, spoken, and voted for many years in the House of Commons; that one of the greatest judges that England has ever produced—who is a professed Jew—has sat for some years on the bench; that the magisterial bench has been, and is yet, occupied by many Jewish magistrates and aldermen; and that many Jewish gentlemen have performed most important civic functions, the British Parliament, the bench, and the British people have remained as Christian as they have ever been, and ever will be.

The several Jews' Emancipation Bills which had heretofore been brought before Parliament had aimed at the simultaneous removal of every disability which then affected the Jews of this country. In consequence of repeated failures, it was now deemed expedient to attempt their removal gradually by successive efforts. In accordance with this amended view of the question, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Spring Rice, moved the House of Commons, on the 31st of May, 1836, to go into committee, "To consider the laws imposing civil disabilities on His Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish Religion." The following day the House of Commons resolved—"That it is expedient to remove all civil disabilities at present existing with respect to His Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion, with the like exceptions as are provided with respect to His Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Ca-

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tholic religion." The Bill was read in the House of Commons for the first time on the 13th June; for the second time on the 3rd of August; and, having been read a third time on the 15th of the same month, it passed out of the Commons, and on the same day was referred to the House of Lords and read. The second reading had been fixed for the 19th of August; but on that day its discussion was advisedly postponed at the suggestion of the Marquis of Westminster.

1836-7. Some remarkable incidents indicative of Jewish progress took place abroad in 1836, and the following year, viz., the emancipation of the Jews of Hanover, during the vice-royalty of H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge; a proposal to emancipate the Jews of Hesse; the declared eligibility of Russian Jews to be employed in the State upon taking medical degrees; the election of two eminent Jewish merchants as members of the Jamaica House of Assembly; the election of M. Fould for the third time to the French Chamber of Deputies; and the appointment of a Jewish Colonel (Cohen) as aide-de-camp to the Government of Maryland, U. S.

1837. Mr. Moses Montefiore was elected in this year sheriff of London and Middlesex, and received the honour of knighthood from the young Queen Victoria, upon the occasion of Her Majesty's first visit, after her accession to the throne, to her faithful citizens of London.

In the same year Mr. David Salomons unsuccessfully contested the borough of Shoreham, this being the first attempt of any Jew to enter Parliament.

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1838. Mr. Salomons was appointed a magistrate for the county of Kent.

The King of Sweden (Charles John) published in this year an ordinance granting to his Jewish subjects equal privileges enjoyed by his other subjects, with the condition that without his licence they would not be privileged to hold land. Fifty elders of Stockholm endeavoured in vain to induce the King to rescind this ordinance; but His Majesty of Sweden only conceded that, without his sanction, no Jew would be permitted to settle in other cities of his kingdom than Stockholm, Gottenburg, Carlscrona, and Norköping; that they should maintain their own poor, and abstain from all interference in matters relating to the Church of Sweden.

1839. The Czar of Russia ordained that his Jewish subjects of high personal merit, who had rendered benefits to the Russian Empire in science, art, trade, or manufactures, might bear the title of "Citizen of the first class."

In this year also it was proposed to the Danish States to emancipate the Jews of Denmark. The proposal was, however, rejected by a majority of two only.

Mr. David Salomons was in the same year appointed High Sheriff of Kent, he being the first Jewish gentleman chosen to fill that important office. He was also appointed, with Mr. Joseph M. Montefiore, a magistrate for the county of Sussex.

1840. The Jews of Hungary were entirely emancipated, and were declared eligible for all employments in that country and its dependencies, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Sclavonia, and to be ennobled at the

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pleasure of the Crown. The Diet of Hungary also voted that the Jewish religion should be protected.

In this year the Queen of Portugal conferred upon Mr. Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, F.R.S., the distinguished Order of the Tower and Sword.

1841. A Bill to enable British Jews to fill corporation offices, which had successfully passed the House of Commons, was, in 1841, rejected by the House of Lords at the third reading. In this year Her Majesty Queen Victoria conferred upon Sir Moses Montefiore the very rare distinction of "supporters" to his coat-of-arms, as a mark of her high esteem for his noble exertions in behalf of his oppressed religious brethren. In this year also Mr. Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, the zealous pioneer of Jewish emancipation, the untiring advocate of civil and religious liberty, and one of the most active and munificent founders of University College in Gower Street, London—originally known as the "London University," in 1825—was created a baronet of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid was the first Jewish subject of Her Majesty who received that hereditary title.

In 1841 Herr Ries, a Jewish subject of the King of Prussia, was elected a member of the Royal Academy of Berlin, a distinction which had been refused by Frederick the Great to the immortal Moses Mendelssohn.

In the same year Mr. David Salomons unsuccessfully contested the borough of Maidstone.

1842. Mr. John Simon was called to the Bar by the benchers of the Middle Temple, he being the second Jewish barrister in England, and the first to practise

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at the common-law bar. Mr. Simon shortly afterwards joined the Northern circuit.

There were now two Inns of Court open to the Jews of this country, viz., Lincoln's Inn and the Middle Temple. A third, the Inner Temple, was subsequently opened to British Jews by the call to the bar of Mr. Augustus Goldsmid. The annual Indemnity Bill relieved these Jewish gentlemen from certain penalties which they advisedly incurred by taking the Oath of Abjuration with the omission of the words, "On the true faith of a Christian."

1842. Mr. E. Barrow Lousada was appointed high sheriff of Devonshire; and Mr. Barrow Helbert Ellis entered the Indian Civil Service, he being the first Jew in that service.

The noteworthy Jewish events on the Continent in 1842 were the election of Mons. Cremieux, the eminent French advocate, and the able colleague of Sir Moses Montefiore in his noble Mission to the East in 1841 —besides two other eminent French Jews to the French Chamber of Deputies.

In this year also Baron James de Rothschild, of Paris, received from King Louis Philippe the highest grade of the *Legion d'honneur;* and Dr. Moses Elias Barscheiner was elected by the Royal Academy of Berlin Professor of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics.

In the same year the Jews of Germany contributed considerably, by a munificent subscription, towards the re-opening of the Cathedral of Cologne, an act of liberality which could not fail to make its mark in a country which had, in former years, so much oppressed its Jewish citizens.

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1843. The King of Wurtemberg ordained that the same Government grant—which was bestowed upon the other religious sects of his kingdom—should be conferred upon his Jewish subjects towards the support of their Synagogues, their Schools and their Hospitals.

1843. An infamous decree, which had been promulgated by Frate Vincenza Salina, a Grand Inquisitor of Ancona, against the Jews of that and other cities of the Papal States, was revoked in 1843 by Pope Gregory XIVth. In this year also Sir Moses Montefiore was appointed High Sheriff of Kent, and Mr. Jacob Waley, M.A., was called to the Chancery Bar, Lincoln's Inn.

1844. By the advice of the Russian Senate, the Czar of Russia published, in 1844, a very remarkable *Ukase* to relieve from the conscription for twenty years, and from taxes for fifty years, Jewish agriculturists who would have their land cultivated by persons of their own religion. Those who would employ from 100 to 200 Russian Jews might be ennobled, and others who would employ more than 200 Jewish agricultural labourers would be eligible to enjoy the rights and privileges of the hereditary nobility.

Mr. David Salomons was for the second time elected an Alderman for the City of London, in 1844. He was again precluded from accepting the office, being unable to subscribe to the addenda to the Oath which he would be bound to take. Mr. Salomons, fully conscious that everything comes to the man who can wait, patiently bided his time. In this year Sir Moses Montefiore was appointed a Magistrate for the Cinque Ports.

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Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, Bart., F.R.S., in 1844, was created a Portuguese Baron by the Queen of Portugal, by the title of Baron de Goldsmid e da Palmeira.

A Municipal and Corporation Bill became law. By the provisions of this Act, British Jews were relieved from the obligation to subscribe to the declaration "On the true faith of a Christian" upon being elected to municipal offices. Thus there remained no longer any obstacle which might disable British Jews from the acceptance of any Corporation office.

1846. By the promulgation of a cruel Ukase of the Russian Government, the Jews of Russian Poland were subjected, in 1846, to considerable oppression. Sir Moses Montefiore, the courageous advocate of universal right and justice, undertook a personal mission to the Emperor of Russia as the noble champion of his persecuted Russian brethren; and was happily successful in obtaining from the Czar, Nicholas himself, a favourable modification of the harsh decrees.

On his return from his philanthropic mission, Sir Moses Montefiore was created a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as a mark of Her Majesty's special regard and admiration for his splendid personal services on behalf of his persecuted co-religionists. Baron Anthony de Rothschild was also created in this year a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The first Jew honoured by the Crown of Spain since the cruel expulsion of the Jews of that country, by Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1492, was Mr. David

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Weisweller, of Madrid, who this year received, from the Queen of Spain, the Order of Charles III.

1847. The States of Prussia, in 1847, conferred many privileges upon the Jews of Prussia.

Mr. David Salomons was, for the third time, elected an Alderman of the City of London; and, by virtue of the new Municipal and Corporation Act, he was at length able to accept the office and perform its duties.

This year was prolific of events of the highest importance. In order to bring to an issue the long-pending question of the British Jews' admission to Parliament, the Liberal electors of the City of London resolved to avail themselves of the forthcoming general election to return Baron Lionel de Rothschild to Parliament, as one of their representatives. The Baron was elected, and upon the assembling of Parliament, he presented himself in due course at the table of the House of Commons to be sworn. As many eminent lawyers, among whom was Mr. Page Wood, afterwards Lord Chancellor Hatherley, expressed a confident opinion that the words, "On the true faith of a Christian," were not a part of the substance of the Abjuration Oath, and might, therefore, be legally omitted by those upon whose conscience it was not binding, the Baron offered to take the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration, on the Old Testament, and, omitting the words to which he objected, to end with the asseveration: "So help me God." This was not permitted by the House, and the honourable member for London withdrew upon the order of the Speaker. As under the circumstances then existing there appeared to be no immediate prospect of his being able to serve

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his constituents, in his place in Parliament, Baron de Rothschild resigned his seat. He was soon after re-nominated and re-elected by his enlightened constituents. Mr. David Salomons, at the general election of 1847, again attempted to enter Parliament. He contested Greenwich, and was again unsuccessful, as it was well known that he would be equally unable with the Jewish member for London to take his seat even if elected.

1848. Another measure for Jewish emancipation was again brought forward this Session; and, on the 4th of May, it was carried in the House of Commons. It was ably supported by Mr. Disraeli, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord George Bentinck, who had been earnestly entreated by the then Protectionist party to abstain from recording his vote in favour of the bill. To quote the late Lord Beaconsfield: "Enfeebled by illness, he had nearly brought himself to a compliance with a request urged with affectionate importunity, but from which his reason and sense of duty held him aloof. After long and deep and painful pondering, when the hour arrived, he rose from his bed of sickness, walked into the House of Commons, and, not only voted, but spoke in favour of his convictions. His speech remains one of the best ever delivered on the subject; not only full of weighty argument, but touched with a rich and even tender vein of sentiment." On the 25th of May the bill was defeated in the House of Lords by a majority of thirty-five Tory peers.

The most striking events relating to Jewish interests in this most remarkable and memorable year of revolutions, were the election of Mons. Cremieux, as

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a member of the Provisional Government which succeeded the French Revolution in February; the election of Herr J. Manheimer to the Presidency of the Austrian Diet; and the election of the famous Dr. Gabriel Reisser, as Minister of State to the Prince Protector of Germany, John of Austria. This noted champion of the rights of conscience, alike religious and political, was one of the most prominent characters in Germany at that exciting period which immediately followed the French Revolution of 1848. Born at the commencement of the present century in the free town of Hamburgh, he, at a very early period of his public life, began to take an active part in the question of Jewish emancipation in Germany, which he advocated in a most able manner by his argumentative writings and his burning eloquence. Dr. Reisser was as emphatically a German as he was a zealous Israelite. He boldly claimed for German Jews their inalienable right, as German-born Jews, to participate equally with German-born Christians in the duties, the responsibilities, and the honours of State service in every capacity. In 1831 he addressed the Germans of every religious denomination on the position of German-born Jews; and he argued powerfully, if not always convincingly, with the then most implacable antagonists of Jewish progress, against whom he was ever ready to contend both with his pen and his tongue. In the exercise of the high and responsible office of State Minister, which he held in 1848, it became his duty to offer to King Frederick William IV., the Imperial Crown of Germany, which, however, it may be remembered, was not accepted by that Sovereign.

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1849. Another Jews' Bill, which was brought forward in the House of Commons this Session, met with the same fate as former Bills. It was carried in the House of Commons, and defeated by an obstinate majority in the House of Lords.

1850. The House of Commons, by a majority of fifty-four, carried a motion to permit Baron Lionel de Rothschild, the duly-elected Member for London, to be sworn upon the Old Testament. Upon a motion of the then Attorney General, the House of Commons, by a majority of thirty-two, pledged itself to support a measure of Jewish emancipation during the next Parliamentary Session.

1851. Mr. Alderman Salomons was at length returned to Parliament as member for Greenwich. Under high legal sanction he presented himself at the table of the House of Commons to be sworn. He took the Oaths of Supremacy, Allegiance and Abjuration upon the Old Testament as far as the declaration, "On the true faith of a Christian," which he advisedly omitted, and concluded with the asseveration "So help me God!" He took his seat, spoke three times, and voted in three divisions on the Jews' Disabilities Bill, which was then read for the first time, and passed by a majority of fifty-four.

Mr. Salomons had advisedly incurred three penalties of five hundred pounds each, in order to test his Parliamentary rights in a Court of Law. Having effected his object, and being ordered by the Speaker to withdraw, he did so upon being lightly touched on his shoulder by the Serjeant-at-Arms, as sufficient evidence that he submitted only to coercion.

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For important services rendered to Spanish emigrants in France, Mons. Emille Leon, of Bayonne, was in this year appointed by the Queen of Spain a Commander of the Royal Order of Isabella la Catolica.

1852. Mons. Achille Fould was appointed a French Minister of State by the Emperor Napoleon III.

1852. In this year an action was brought against Mr. Alderman Salomons, the Honourable Member for Greenwich, by a Mr. Miller, a common informer, to recover from him three penalties of five hundred pounds each for sitting, speaking three times, and voting in three divisions in the House of Commons without having duly taken the oath. The legal question at issue was whether or not the words, "On the true faith of a Christian," formed an essential part of the Oath of Abjuration. The contention of many eminent lawyers was that the phrase objected to by the professors of Judaism was not part of the substance of the oath, but only an averment, which might be omitted by Jewish members of Parliament as not binding on their conscience. This was the question which was argued with surpassing ability, before the late Lord Chief Justice Baron Pollock, and the late Mr. Baron Parke, Mr. Baron Alderson, and Mr. Baron Martin. Their judgment was delivered on the 17th of April, 1852, against Mr. Alderman Salomons; on which occasion Mr. Baron Martin, who dissented from the opinions of his brother Judges, delivered a most lucid judgment in favour of the Honourable Member for Greenwich. The question was afterwards argued in a "Court of Error" in the "Exchequer Chamber," — lately abolished— before Lord Chief Justice Campbell, Mr. Justice

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Wightman, Mr. Justice Cresswell, Mr. Justice Crompton and Mr. Justice Williams, who unanimously confirmed the judgment of the Court below. A writ of error, which was afterwards to have been heard in the House of Lords, was not proceeded with.

Mr. Alderman Salomons lost his election for Greenwich in 1852, and remained about seven years out of Parliament.

1853. Another measure for Jewish emancipation was successfully carried in the House of Commons, in this session, and met with the usual failure in the House of Lords.

Since 1830 most of the disabilities from which the Jews of Great Britain then suffered had been gradually removed by successive legislative enactments. There was little more now for British Jews to attain except the right to sit in Parliament, when duly elected, upon taking an oath which was binding upon their conscience. This right they felt assured must in time be conceded by the House of Lords, and they therefore resolved to persevere, in conjunction with the zealous advocates of their cause, until the object of their contention was attained.

1855. On Michaelmas Day Mr. Alderman Salomons was elected Lord Mayor of London; and upon the 9th of November he entered upon the functions of his high office; by virtue of which he became not alone the first Jewish Lord Mayor, but the first Jewish Member of the Privy Council. The late Mr. David Salomons was a man of a noble presence; handsome in feature, and graceful in figure and demeanour. His courtly reception of his royal, noble, and distinguished

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guests at the more than ordinarily magnificent inauguration banquet was generally admired. Being the first Chief Magistrate of the City of London professing the Jewish religion, an unusual amount of curiosity was naturally exhibited by all who were privileged to be present on the interesting occasion, and it was unanimously admitted that a more dignified Lord Mayor, efficient in oratory, and easy and courtly in manner, had never before presided over the world-famous annual civic banquet.

1856. Many events of exceptional interest occurred during Lord Mayor Salomons' year of office, among which may be notified the splendid reception of the King of Sardinia and Piedmont, Victor Emanuele, "Il Re Galantuomo," by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London on the occasion of His Majesty receiving the freedom of the city.

A measure for modifying the Oath of Abjuration with the object of admitting Jews to Parliament was carried in the House of Commons in this Session, and as usual rejected by the House of Lords.

Among the incidents in connection with Jewish interests which took place on the Continent in 1856 may be named the following :—

The Jews of Turkey were placed upon a footing of perfect equality with the other subjects of the Sultan.

Mons. Alexander Leon, of Bordeaux, received from the Queen of Spain the distinguished Spanish order of Charles III. Mons. Isaac Pereira, of Paris, received from the Emperor of Austria the ancient order of the Iron Crown of Lombardy. Mr. Dennis Samuel was created a Baron by the King of Portugal.

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Baron Salomon de Rothschild also received this year, from the Queen of Spain, the noble Spanish order of Charles III. Mons. Ettlinger, of Odessa, was created by the King of Bavaria a Knight of Lazare.

The foregoing incidents, although apparently of minor importance, except to the individuals who were respectively distinguished, were, nevertheless, of real significance as indicating the increased interest with which foreign Potentates then regarded the Jews of Europe.

1857. Mr. Benjamin Samuel Phillips, who had been the first Jewish Common Councilman of the Corporation of London, was elected, in this year, an Alderman for the Ward of Faringdon Without; while Mr. Arthur Cohen, M.A., was called to the Bar. On the 16th of June the "Oaths Bill," to enable duly elected Members of Parliament of the Jewish faith to omit the words "On the true faith of a Christian," was carried in the House of Commons. Four hostile amendments to the Bill were lost by successive majorities of 280, 125, 141 and 136. The Bill was ultimately carried by a majority of 123. The House of Lords remained as persistent as ever in its endeavours to keep Jews out of Parliament. It again defeated a modified measure for their admission. The "Oaths Bill" was rejected in the House of Lords by a majority of 34.

On July 23rd, 1857, Baron Lionel de Rothschild again resigned his seat in the House of Commons, and on the 28th of the same month was re-elected. The Liberal electors of London were not less persistent than the Tory peers. They were fighting for a

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constitutional principle, and were resolved never to cease their contention until their efforts were crowned with success.

The principal remarkable Jewish incidents of 1857 abroad were the following:—

By an ordinance of the Bey of Tunis all his subjects of whatever creed were placed on an equality. In Russia the condition of the Jews was to some extent improved. The Emperor of Russia decreed that his Jewish subjects who were under age should not be forcibly enlisted; that Jewish physicians, and Jewish members of other learned bodies, might serve the State in a civil or military capacity, with all the privileges attached to the particular service; that young Russian Jews, who had gained academical distinction in the grammar schools, might complete their education in the Universities at the cost of the Crown. That permission might be given to the Russian Jews to reside in villages, and in former military colonies; and to establish colonies, and to carry on any trade except in spirituous liquors. That Jews living near the frontiers of the Empire might be at liberty to avoid military service by a payment of three hundred silver roubles; and, lastly, that a pecuniary grant should be annually allowed to the Jews of the Empire for the establishment of educational institutions for Russian Jewesses.

Mr. Barrow H. Ellis was appointed Acting Commissioner in Scinde.

1858. The Liberal electors of the City of London were patient and forbearing, while successive bills to relieve the British Jews from their remaining disabilities were carried through the House of Commons and

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rejected by the House of Lords. After endless discussions, fruitless arguments, and references to the highest parliamentary and legal authorities, it was admitted that no law existed which directly excluded duly elected British-born Jews from sitting in Parliament. The fact being, that a circumstance so apparently impossible as the election of a Jew to represent a constituency in Parliament had never been in contemplation. After a period of more than a quarter of a century it was discovered that, without taking any oath whatever, every duly elected Member of Parliament was privileged to vote for the election of a Speaker; and, moreover, could be elected to serve on any Committee of the House; and, furthermore, that he might be subjected to the payment of a fine should he decline to serve without assigning a sufficient cause. Thus, a duly elected member of the Jewish faith, who declined to take the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration with the addenda, "On the true faith of a Christian," as being contrary to his conscience, might serve his constituents in a committee room of the House of Commons, but not in the House itself—except when voting for a Speaker at the commencement of a new Parliament. This incongruous and unreasonable state of the long-pending question of the British Jews' admission to Parliament, was generally acknowledged to be beneath the dignity of Parliament and no longer sufferable; but still the persistent majority in the Upper House would not yield to reason, and arguments on both sides became exhausted.

On the 16th of March, 1858, a new Oaths Bill, ap-

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plying only to Jews, was introduced in the House of Commons, and was carried by a majority of 93. It was referred to the House of Lords, and was passed, with certain amendments which were disallowed by the House of Commons. A conference of both Houses was consequently appointed, and Baron Lionel de Rothschild was named to serve on the committee. The question remaining yet unsettled, a Tory peer, strange as it may seem, came boldly to the rescue of his brother lords, to endeavour to solve the difficulty. This was the Earl of Lucan, a cavalry officer of high distinction, who gave notice to the House of Lords that he would introduce a Bill, authorizing either House of Parliament to admit Jews by resolution, without the obligation to subscribe to the words, "On the true faith of a Christian."

Lord Lucan's Bill was introduced to the House of Lords, and read a second time on the 3rd of July, 1858; and a third time, on the 12th of the same month, with a majority of twenty-one. It was presented to the House of Commons, and read a second time, on the 16th of July, with a majority of ninety-one. The bill was then committed—an adverse amendment having been moved and lost by a majority of 131. On the 21st of the same month the bill was read a third time, and carried by a majority of seventy-four; and on the 23rd it received the Royal assent. The obstacle which prevented a duly elected Jewish member from taking his seat in Parliament being at length removed, Baron de Rothschild presented himself at the table of the House of Commons on the 26th of July. He took the necessary oaths in

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the manner binding on his conscience, was sworn on the Old Testament, and at length took the seat to which he had been duly elected eleven years previously.

1859. In 1859 Mr. Alderman Salomons was, for the second time, returned to Parliament to represent Greenwich, and in due course he was sworn, and took his seat. Baron Mayer de Rothschild was elected for Hythe. In this year also Mr. Alderman Benjamin S. Phillips was elected Sheriff of London and Middlesex: he being the third Jew elected to that office.

1860. Sir Francis H. Goldsmid, Bart., Q.C., was returned for Reading.

An Act to render the resolution of the House of Commons for the admission of Jews to that House a Standing Order passed the House of Lords on the 16th of July.

Notwithstanding that a duly-elected British-born Jew could now take his seat in the House of Commons by a resolution of the House, that solution of the long disputed question of the Jews' admission to Parliament could hardly be regarded in any other light than as a temporary measure,—and not as its ultimate settlement; since, from caprice, or a change of public opinion on the subject, an adverse majority of his fellow members might resolve that any particular member of the Jewish faith should not be permitted to take his seat. It was not, therefore, until the passing of the Bill which substituted for the oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy and Abjuration, one uniform oath which might be taken by members of all religious denominations, except Quakers and other Separatists

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who might claim to be admitted by affirmation, that the Jewish members of the House of Commons felt themselves to be on a footing of perfect equality with their fellow members.

1860. In this year Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., F.R.S., originated a subscription for the relief of the persecuted and suffering Christians in Syria. He was appointed the Chairman of a very influential Committee of Christians and Jews, of which Mr. Alderman Salomons, M.P., and the Baron Lionel de Rothschild, M.P., were elected members. At the same time the Jews of France, at the invitation of Mons. Crémieux, subscribed liberally for the same object.

The most noteworthy incidents in connection with Jewish interests abroad, in the same year, were the following:—

The publication of an Imperial decree, authorising Austrian Jews to possess landed property in Lower Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Transylvania, Illyrica and Dalmatia. It was left to the discretion of the representatives to grant the same privilege to the Jews of the Tyrol, Salzburg, Upper Austria, Carinthia, and Carniola.

On the surrender of Tetuan, the Jews, who had been cruelly plundered by the Moors, received protection from the Spanish forces.

By an Imperial decree Herr Welhoff was appointed a Judge of the Tribunal of the First Instance at Weissemburg. The King of Sardinia conferred upon Signor Sinigáglia, of Turin, the distinguished order of St. Maurice e Lazare, for his improvements in the manufacture of silk.

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Signor Artom of Turin received the order of Charles III. from the Queen of Spain, and was created a Knight of the Legion of Honour by Napoleon III.

Mons. Godefroi, the eminent Dutch Advocate, was appointed Minister of Justice by the King of Holland, who also conferred upon Dr. S. Mulder, the Inspector of Jewish Schools, the Dutch order of the Lion.

Mr. Henry M. Hyams was elected Lieutenant Governor of the State of Louisiana, U. S., by virtue of which office he became the President of the Senate of that State.

Mr. Barrow H. Ellis was appointed Secretary to the Government Revenue, Financial and General Department, Bombay.

1861. The Jews of Sweden were, by a Royal decree issued in this year, privileged to acquire real property in towns and villages. Foreign Jews were allowed as heretofore to be domiciled only in the cities of Stockholm, Gottenburg, Carlscrona, and Norköping.

The Chief Rabbi of Constantinople, Rabbi Jacob Avigdor, received from His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey the order of the Medjidie.

The Czar of Russia granted permission to foreign Jews to establish themselves permanently at Odessa, and Sebastopol.

1862. All civil and political rights were granted to the Jews of Baden-Baden in 1862. The Grand Duke of Baden also issued an edict granting to his Jewish subjects a more independent constitution for their religious worship.

The civil rights of the Jews of Wurtemburg were assured to them by a Bill passed by the legislative

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assembly at Stuttgart. In respect to their civil relations they were placed upon an equal footing with the other subjects of the King of Wurtemburg, to enjoy equal rights, and be subject to the same imposts and the same duties.

Mr. Barrow H. Ellis was this year appointed additional member of the Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay.

1863. An event of considerable interest to the Jews of Turkey and Jerusalem occurred in 1863, for the particulars of which I am indebted to the late Mr. E. H. Lindo, the learned historian of the Jews in Spain and Portugal.

The Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem, Rabbi Chayim David Chasam, was elevated by His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey to the exceptional dignity of Chief Rabbi of all the Jewish Congregations of the Holy Land. At the ceremony of his installation the Pasha of Jerusalem sent to the Chief Rabbi his own horse. The Chief Rabbi, having mounted, was accompanied to the Pasha's palace in procession by the Chief of the Police. At the Palace he was received in solemn state by the whole Divan. The Pasha having placed his reverend guest at his right hand, the firman promoting the Rabbi to his high office was read aloud with the usual ceremonies. The reverend functionary was then conducted by the Pasha with much ceremony and state to the gate of the Court. The guards of the Pasha then escorted the Chief Rabbi with every demonstration of regard and honour through those streets of Jerusalem inhabited by its Jewish residents. On his return to his own house, the honoured religious Chief was waited

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upon by all the elders, and the leading men of the Jewish community, who went to congratulate him upon the marked distinction which had been conferred upon him and upon his co-religionists; for such an honour had never before been paid by the Turkish Government to any religious community.

This year news reached England that two Jews of Tangiers had been cruelly tortured and murdered, upon the unsupported accusation of the Spanish Consul. Sir Moses Montefiore, the illustrious champion alike of Jews and Christians, having already undertaken personal missions to Damascus, Russia and Rome, in order to defend the assailed reputation of the Jewish people, moved by the impulses of his noble nature, resolved to go forth once more in the cause of humanity and justice—although in his 80th year, to rescue his people from persecution and oppression. Her Majesty's Government rendered to the noble patriarch every assistance in their power. One of Her Majesty's ships was placed at the disposal of Sir Moses Montefiore to convey him from Gibraltar to the coast of Africa. The success of his mission to Morocco was announced to the House of Commons by Mr. Layard, the then Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on the 4th of March, 1864, with high eulogiums on the generous conduct of the illustrious missionary, who had not alone succeeded in obtaining equalizations of civil rights for the Jews of Morocco, but also for the members of all religious creeds. On his return through Spain, Queen Isabella received Sir Moses Montefiore with marks of high consideration. The Common Council of the City of London

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having resolved that an address should be presented to him, for his noble personal exertions in behalf of suffering humanity, the same was publicly presented to him in the Guildhall, by the Lord Mayor and Corporation.

1864. On the 11th of February Mr. John Simon, of the Northern Circuit, received from Lord Chancellor Westbury the dignity of the Coif; in other words, was made a Serjeant-at-law, he being the first Jewish barrister who had received that ancient legal rank.

In January, of this year, Mr. Julian Goldsmid was called to the Bar by the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, and joined the Oxford Circuit. The Hon. Barrow H. Ellis was appointed Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay.

In 1864, also, Mr. Alderman Benjamin Phillips was elected Lord Mayor of London; he being the second Jewish Alderman elected to that office. On his retirement from the Mayoralty, in 1865, the high reputation of which he had maintained by the exercise of remarkable talents, oratory, discretion, and dignity, the ex-Lord Mayor received from Her Majesty the honour of knighthood, on the recommendation of the then Premier, the Earl of Derby.

1865. The following Jewish candidates were elected Members of Parliament, in July, 1865, viz.:—

Sir David Salomons, Bart., for the third time for Greenwich.

Sir Francis H. Goldsmid, Bart., Q.C., for the second time for Reading.

Baron Lionel de Rothschild, for the fourth time for London.

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Baron Mayer de Rothschild, for the second time for Hythe.

Mr. Nathaniel de Rothschild, for Aylesbury.

Mr. Joseph d'Aguilar Samuda, for Tavistock.

Mr. Frederick D. Goldsmid, for Honiton.

Mr. George Jessel, M.A., was this year made a Queen's Counsel.

1866. On the 28th of March, 1866, Mr. Julian Goldsmid was returned to represent Honiton, a vacancy having occurred in that Borough by the lamented death of his father, Mr. Frederick Goldsmid, the late Member.

1868. At the general election of 1868 the following Jewish candidates were returned to Parliament :—

Baron Lionel de Rothschild, for London—for the fifth time.

Mr. George Jessel, Q.C., for Dover.

Mr. Serjeant Simon, for Dewsbury.

Sir Francis H. Goldsmid, Bart., Q.C., for Reading—the third time.

Baron Mayer de Rothschild, for Hythe—the third time.

Mr. Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild, for Aylesbury—the second time.

Sir David Salomons, Bart., for Greenwich—the fourth time.

Mr. Joseph d'Aguilar Samuda, for the Tower Hamlets.

Baron Henry de Worms unsuccessfully contested the Borough of Sandwich, in the Conservative interest.

Mr. Serjeant Simon, M.P., received from the Lord

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Chancellor a patent of precedence, with the rank of Q.C.

1869. After a very remarkable academical career, the late Mr. Numa Hartog, B.A., of the University of London, graduated SENIOR WRANGLER at Trinity College, Cambridge. As Mr. Hartog was unable, owing to the then existing laws of the University, to receive his degree in a manner agreeable to his conscience, the Senate of the University passed a special act of grace to enable him to do so.

The Hon. Barrow H. Ellis was, in this year, appointed a member of the Council of the Governor General of India.

1871. By the "University Tests" Act, passed this year, Jews and Nonconformists were admitted to degrees at the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.

In the same year, Mr. Phineas Simon Abraham, B.Sc. (London University), took his degree as First Senior Moderator in Natural Science, and Moderator in Experimental Science at Trinity College, Dublin; and four years later the degree of M.A. was conferred upon him, *Stip. con. Hon. causâ*, when he was placed on the Senate of the University of Dublin. Dr. Abraham has since been unanimously elected Curator of the Dublin College of Surgeons. It should be noted that the University of Dublin was the first of the three old Universities of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to confer degrees upon the professors of all religious creeds.

1874. At the General Election of 1874 the following Jewish candidates were returned to Parliament in the Liberal interest:—

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Sir Francis H. Goldsmid, Bart., Q.C., for Reading —the fourth time.

Mr. Serjeant Simon, for Dewsbury—the second time.

Sir Nathaniel Meyer de Rothschild, Bart., for Aylesbury—the third time.

Mr. Julian Goldsmid, for Rochester—the second time.

Mr. Saul Isaac, for Nottingham—in the Conservative interest.

Mr. Arthur Cohen, M.A., was in this year made a Queen's Counsel.

1875. The Hon. Barrow H. Ellis was appointed Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, and was in the same year created a Knight Commander of the Star of India.

1880. At the General Election in 1880 the following Jewish candidates were returned to Parliament: in the Liberal interest:

Mr. Serjeant Simon, for Dewsbury—the third time.

Sir Nathaniel Meyer de Rothschild, Bart., the fourth time.

Mr. Arthur Cohen, Q.C., for Southwark.

Baron Henry de Worms, for Greenwich—in the Conservative interest.

Mr. Sydney Woolf, for Pontefract.

Mr. Saul Isaac unsuccessfully contested Nottingham in the Conservative interest.

Sir Julian Goldsmid, Bart., unsuccessfully contested Rochester in the Liberal interest.

Since the Municipality and Corporation Acts came

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into operation in 1846, the following English Corporations have elected Jewish Mayors: viz., Liverpool, Bristol, Canterbury, Portsmouth, Southampton, Taunton, and Nottingham.

In France, as early as the beginning of this century, the Jews of that country had already distinguished themselves, especially in the armies of the First Napoleon. Marshal Massena, née Menasseh, and Marshal Soult, besides many other Jewish officers of less celebrity, revived by their many valiant deeds the splendid renown won by the Israelites of antiquity as warriors "great in battle." During, and since the reign of Louis Philippe many French Israelites have earned fame by the exercise of brilliant talents at the Bar, in the Senate, in the Army, and also as Ministers of State. The names of Crémieux and Fould are world-famed. In the disastrous Franco-German War, in 1870, many brave French Jews exceptionally distinguished themselves by splendid deeds of personal bravery.

The Jews of Germany, the countrymen of the immortal Moses Mendelssohn, Heine and Meyerbeer, have also during the past half century, won honour and fame in the fertile fields of Science, Art, Literature, Philosophy and Medicine, and in the German Parliament, of which the following eminent Jewish gentlemen are now members, viz.:—Drs. Eduard Lasker, Ludwig Braumberger, Max Hirsch, Anton Rée, Herren Ludwig Löwe, Leopold Sonnemann, and Max Kayser.

The extraordinary merits of the late Dr. Gabriel Riesser were recognised and appreciated by a past generation. The name of Lasker is known at the present day as that of a courageous and uncompromising

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statesman, eloquent in the advocacy of justice and freedom. Since the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy under King Victor Emanuel, Italian-born Jews have enjoyed equal civil and political rights in common with their Christian countrymen. Many Italian Jews have already distinguished themselves in the Italian Parliament and in the public service.

With unalloyed satisfaction may be added to this survey of the interesting Jewish incidents which have taken place since 1830, the welcome fact, that, after a banishment from Spain of 389 years, Jews, by a late decree of the enlightened Government of King Alfonso, will soon be privileged to re-establish themselves in Spain, to become naturalized Spanish subjects, being regarded in all respects as other foreign subjects of the King of Spain upon any of the subjoined conditions :— viz., upon marriage with a Spanish lady ; or upon establishing in Spain an invention, or a manufactory of importance : or upon holding land for which direct Spanish contributions are payable ; or upon exercising a trade in Spain supported by their own capital, or upon rendering to Spain some eminent services.

The foregoing conditions are not compulsory upon Jews and other foreigners who seek only a temporary residence in Spain.

The cruel edict which banished, in 1492, about 170,000 Spanish Jewish families from their native country may be contrasted with the above ; it was worded as follows: " Seeing that the Jews of our States induce many Christians to embrace Judaism, particularly the Nobles of Andalusia ; for this they are banished under the severest penalties."

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Proselytism being, as is well known, directly opposed to the principles of Judaism, and discouraged in every way, the falseness of the excuse for the wholesale banishment of the Jews of Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella was at once recognised as base and libellous, and devised in order to disguise the iniquitous designs of the Arch-Inquisitor Torquemada, to force Christianity upon the Jews.

It can hardly be doubted that the re-establishment of a number of enlightened and prosperous Israelites in Spain will tend materially to develop once more the rich resources of that beautiful and fertile country, and to restore its former financial splendour.

The re-admission of Jews into Spain, with complete religious freedom, and equal civil and political privileges, may be regarded as one of the most important facts, as it is one of the most glorious strokes of high state policy, which has marked the present age of progress; and it may, perhaps, teach a valuable lesson to those European Governments who would appear to manifest a desire for retrogression rather than progression.

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No. III.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE PRACTICE OF USURY IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES.

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"THERE BEING SCARCE ONE SHIRE IN WALES OR ENGLAND WHERE MY MONEYS ARE NOT LENT OUT ON USURY, THE CERTAIN HOOK TO DRAW IN MORE."

The City Madam.—Massinger (1584—1640).

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No. III.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE PRACTICE OF USURY IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES.

I.

To rescue the Jewish name from the unmerited odium which for many ages has been unjustly attached to it in relation to money-lending at an exorbitant profit, commonly termed usury, is the design of this brief historical survey. To hold an entire race, multifariously and honourably employed, responsible for the malpractices of a very small minority is manifestly illogical and unjust. As illogical and unjust would it be to cast upon the entire banking, mercantile and trading communities of this great Empire, the opprobrium attached to the almost daily reported swindles, frauds, embezzlements, forgeries, perjuries, and other high crimes and misdemeanours, which, more especially of late years, have somewhat shaken public confidence in the commercial integrity of this country.

The practice of usury has been common to every nation of antiquity. Its severe condemnation by Cato, Seneca, and Plutarch, is undeniable proof.

By the important discoveries of Egyptian papyri recently made at Thebes, and by the labours of the demotic students who have ably deciphered them, many hitherto unknown facts of intense in-

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terest relating to the domestic life of the ancient Egyptians have been disclosed. We learn that their priests and scribes were occupied in lending and borrowing money, and from the terms of their legal contracts now openly exposed for the first time, we find that they practised usury in a very severe form. We learn that loans were invariably contracted for short periods; that repayment was rigidly and punctually enforced; that a creditor would accept no instalment before the day fixed for repayment, nor would he permit even a delay of a few hours. It would appear that 50 per cent. was the usual amount of interest charged, and, as security, a debtor would be sometimes obliged to mortgage all he possessed. These usurious Egyptian money-lenders were mostly priests of Osiris.

"These Choachytes, or Colchytes, officially styled Pastophori of Amen, were a subordinate class of custodian priests attached to the Theban necropolis; and it was their duty to perform funereal rites and memorial services. They would appear to have been a busy and a prosperous body, not content to live by merely sacerdotal work, but keen at buying and selling, and adepts in the art and mystery of usury. In the Louvre collection of Contracts we find various papyri relating to matters of loan and interest, all duly drawn up by professional notaries, and signed by numerous witnesses. Abbreviating and omitting much that is purely formal, we re-translate from the French version of M. Revillout, two of these bonds, the one in regard of a loan of wheat, the other in regard of a loan of money:—

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"'1. (Date, the fifth year of Cleopatra-Circe and second year of Ptolemy-Alexander, her son.) The receiver of taxes upon stuffs, Thoth, son of Amenhotep, whose mother is Tanoum, to the Pastophorus of Amen-Api of the Necropolis of Djem, Neckhtmonth, son of Horus, whose mother is Chachperi, saith:—For the wheat thou hast lent to me, thou hast to reclaim from me nine aureus, interest included. I engage to pay thee thy nine aureus above-named in pure unground wheat (value of the said money) paid back, carried, and delivered into the hands of thy servants in thy house at Djem, without cost or outlay, on the 30th day of the month Pakhons. And I may pay thee no part of the above-named until the 9th Pakhons at the time and day herein appointed. I may not say to thee, 'I have already deposited wheat with thee,' or 'I have made thee a payment on account of thy wheat.' There is no redemption (of the debt), excepting according to this deed, the legal consequences of which rest upon me and upon my children. The whole of my goods which I now possess, and all such as may hereafter become mine, are pledged to thee as security for thy nine aureus; and if I fail to act conformably to this writing, the whole penalty will be due, and I must cede to thee without opposition or delay all that which is herein pledged.'

"'2. (Date, the 15th year of Euergetes I.) Thou hast lent to me (names omitted) five argentei, making one outen of silver. I have received this money from thy hand. The sum is complete, leaving no balance outstanding. My heart is satisfied. At the time thou hast fixed for thy five argenteus which thou hast lent,

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I will repay them. I have 30 days of credit before the time for repayment. I will give thee, less the interest, thy five argenteus, making one outen, the day after the 30th day above-named, not counting costs or interest, and that without delay. This bond provides for no other redemption of the debt. The above legal writing is in thy hand, for thy five argenteus—and the costs and interest thereunto accruing. It rests upon me and my children. All the goods I possess, or may in future possess, are mortgaged to thee in security for thy argenteus and the costs and interest thereunto accruing. Thy servants may employ against me any means of coercion in respect of that which is here written, and that without opposition on my part.'

"It is especially to be noted that the lenders are always Choachyte priests, who, at the risk of being hereafter unable to recite before Osiris the celebrated 'negative confession' pronounced by the justified dead, united the two callings most abhorred by the people of Egypt—namely, usury and monopoly. Such being the hard conditions upon which Egyptian creditors dealt with Egyptian debtors, one is not surprised to learn that it went even harder with the luckless native who borrowed from a Greek. The British Museum, for instance, contains a demotic papyrus (No. 478, Hay) in the form of a mortgage, whereby, for the miserable consideration of fifty sekels (*i.e.* about £1. 15s.) a father signed away in pledge not only the inheritance, but the personal liberty of his children."*

* *Buried Treasure*, a Review.—*The Times.*

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That the ancient Greeks lent money upon "usurious interest" is clearly evidenced by the repressive legislative enactments of that illustrious nation. Plato and Aristotle are said to have regarded usury as criminal and unnatural, and sure to bring calamities upon the usurious money-lender. The latter philosopher, says Mr. John Addington Symonds, "is supposed to have laid it down as an axiom, that as the use of money is only to facilitate barter, it is naturally barren, and the attempt to make money breed money is preposterous and unlawful. The passage is believed to be spurious; but it faithfully represents the public opinion of many centuries." The maxims of the seven sages of Greece bearing upon this subject have been preserved. Theogenes and Solon even employed verse to repress unjust gain. The following may be cited as an example: "He who gets wealth from Zeus by just means, and with hands unstained, will not lose it. That which is acquired unfairly, though it may seem at first to bring gain, turns at last to calamity, and the mind of Heaven prevails." "Nowhere," says Mitford, "had the poor ready means of getting a livelihood by creditable industry. The rich, to acquire at the same time revenue and influence, lent their money; the poor, averse to employment which put them, in appearance at least, upon a footing with slaves, and often unable to obtain hire even for such employment, borrowed at exorbitant interest with their persons only to offer for security."*

Although the term usury is not here employed, we have nevertheless its synonym in the "exorbitant

* *History of Greece.*—Mitford.

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interest," exacted by the rich Greeks from their less wealthy fellow-citizens, whose persons were held as securities. What a cruel example of ancient Greek usury in its vilest aspect! The splendour of their fame doubtless shielded the ancient Greeks from the infamy of their usurious transactions, of which, in the following citations from Mitford's "History of Greece," we have undoubted evidence. "Everywhere the laws gave the lender certain rights over the person of the borrower. Thus the wealthy, to the power always attending property, added a power not originally intended by the constitution, yet derived from the laws, and confirmed by them." "At Athens an insolvent debtor became slave to his creditor, and not himself only, but his wife and children also, if less would not answer the debt. Sometimes a debtor would sell his children to save himself."

Usury, in its most cruel phase, was so universally practised by the ancient Romans, that, A.U. 429, a law was passed to mitigate its severity. Roman usurers, according to Livy, were restrained by new laws from keeping their debtors in irons, or in bonds, only the goods and not the persons of debtors could be given up to creditors.

What is usury, and what is interest? According to the original signification of those words they are synonymous expressions. The translators of the authorised version of the Old Testament rendered the Hebrew word נֶשֶׁךְ "usury." Jewish translators have rendered the same word "interest." There can be no doubt whatever that the latter is the correct rendering. In its origin, as used by Moses, *neschech* meant simply

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a reasonable payment for the use of money; whereas it has since been held to indicate an excessive and unreasonable amount of payment, or interest, and, in that sense, it has acquired an invidious and offensive signification.

The interest of money throughout the Middle Ages was enormously high. "At Verona," says Hallam, "it was fixed by law, in 1228, at 12½ per cent. In 1270, at Modena, it appears to have been as high as 20 per cent. The Republic of Genoa, towards the end of the fourteenth century, when Italy had grown wealthy, paid only from 7 to 10 per cent. to her creditors. But in France and England the rate was far more oppressive. An ordinance of Philip the Fair, in 1311, allowed 20 per cent. after the first year of loan. Under Henry III. of England, according to Matthew Paris, the debtor paid 10 per cent. every two months; but this, as a practice, is supposed to be absolutely incredible."

Usury, or lending money for profit, was treated as a crime by theologians of the Middle Ages; and, although the superstition has been eradicated, some part of the prejudice remains in our legislation. The greater part of the money traffic, as well as the ordinary inland trade throughout Italy, France and Spain in the Middle Ages was, as is well known, in the hands of the Jewish people domiciled in those countries. There then flourished in Malta, Greece, Portugal and Venice, Jewish merchants of high repute, whose extensive commerce with the East procured them vast wealth. Their argosies, richly laden with spice, and silks, and precious stones from India, Egypt, and other

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oriental countries, were known in every Mediterranean port. The Jews of Spain, Portugal and Italy, and also of other European countries in which they were domiciled, had gained the command of great wealth, and the entire monetary influence in those countries, indeed of the whole world, by the exercise of a superior intelligence, perspicacity, industry and thrift. It ought not to be surprising that Jews should have availed themselves of favourable occasions to increase their wealth by claiming, as others did, those high rates of interest for the loan of money to which historians refer, more especially as their tenure of wealth was at all times precarious and uncertain, and held under conditions dependent upon the will and caprice of tyrannic rulers. Having, spider-like, enticed the Jews of England into his web, King John, in 1210, suddenly withdrew the privileges he had granted them to induce them to settle in England, and claimed to know their entire wealth, which he commanded should be paid into his exchequer; and moreover, iniquitously imprisoned all the Jews and their families until they should consent to disclose it.

Those who pleaded poverty and showed unwillingness to yield up their riches were barbarously tortured until they had parted with their last farthing. To thrust out an eye was, as Stowe informs us, not an uncommon penalty. Rapacious and savage deeds such as these were of frequent recurrence in every country in Europe in which Jews of the Middle Ages sojourned. Having become the sole possessors of wealth they were always subjected to the most frightfully usurious extortions from those who were forced by financial exigencies.

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to resort to them for help, while they were hated for their religious constancy, and for their superior intelligence. In 1241 the Jews of England had 20,000 marks levied upon them. In 1243 they were forced to submit to another extravagant extortion. In 1250 Aaron of York, under cruel compulsion, paid Henry III. 30,000 marks; while from other wealthy Jews this usurious tyrant exacted other large sums of money. In 1255 the rapacious monarch claimed from the Jews 80,000 marks with the alternative of their being all hanged. The money was paid into the royal exchequer, but the patience of the plundered Jews was fairly exhausted, and they petitioned Henry to allow them to leave his inhospitable kingdom. But this the wily robber would not permit, for he confessed himself to be a beggar, that he was moneyless, that he already owed 200,000 or 300,000 marks, and had, none the less, "to supply his son Prince Edward with 15,000 marks annually, and that therefore he must have money from any hand, any quarter, or by any means." Hume, again citing Matthew Paris, further informs us that "interest, in 1272, had amounted to an enormous height, as might be expected from the barbarism of the times, and men's ignorance of commerce. Instances occur of 50 per cent. being paid for the use of money." "Philip Augustus, about the same period, issued an edict limiting the interest on loans to 48 per cent. Money-lenders were permitted legally to accept that rate of interest. Braving "the grievous oppressions to which, from the prevailing bigotry and rapine of the age, they were continually exposed," the Jews of England were tempted to remain,

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in order that they might participate in the high profits which were then given for the use of money. Jews having been banished from England in 1290, when, as it was supposed, King Edward could extort no more gold from them, "the practice of usury," says our English historian, "was thenceforth exercised by the English themselves upon their fellow-citizens, or by the Lombards, and other foreigners" (not Jews), "as it was impossible for a nation to subsist without lenders of money, and *none would lend without compensation.*" "It is very much to be questioned whether the dealings of the new usurers were equally open and unexceptionable with those of the old." "The several statutes made to prevent usury after the Jews had left the kingdom prove it to be," says Dr. Tovey (*Anglia Judaica*) "a crime no ways peculiar to the Jews." "The Pope," says the same writer, "was wont to carry on that infamous trade in such a shameful manner, by the help of several Italian merchants called Caursini, that the Jews themselves might have profited by his example. For though, according to the strict and legal acceptation of the word, his contracts were not "usurious," yet the effects of them were the most unheard of usury. His method was this: if a person wanted a sum of money which he would not repay under six months, he would lend it to him for three months without any interest at all; and then covenant to receive five per cent. for every month afterwards that it should remain unpaid. "Now in this case, said he, I am no usurer, for I lent my money absolutely without interest, and what I was to receive afterwards was a contingency that might be defeated." A bond of this

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kind, which surpasses everything of modern invention, is transmitted by Matthew Paris, who says, "when the Jews came to understand the Christian way of preventing usury, they laughed very heartily."

The Caursini were a notorious tribe of Christian usurers; almost, if not quite, as notorious as the Lombards, whose city, Asti, was infamous for its usurious money-lending transactions. The following is a specimen of a bond or obligation, made to the Caursini, for the repayment of money upon loan:—

"To all that shall see this present writing. Thomas the Prior, and the Convent of Barnwell, with health in the Lord! Know ye that we have borrowed and received at London, for ourselves profitably to be expended for the affairs of the Church, from Francesco and Gregorio, for them and their partners, citizens and merchants of Milan, 104 marks of lawful money sterling; 13s. 4d. sterling being counted to every mark. Which said 104 marks we promise to pay back on the feast of *St. Pietro ad Vincula*, being the 1st day of August, 1235, at the New Temple, in London. And if the said money be not all paid at the time and place aforesaid, we bind ourselves to pay to the aforesaid merchants, or any of them, or their certain attorney, for every ten marks forborne for two months, one mark of money *for recompense* or damage, which the aforesaid merchants may incur by the non-payment of it; so that they may lawfully demand principal, damages, and expenses as above expressed, together with the expenses of one merchant for himself, his horse, and servant, until such time as the aforesaid money be fully satisfied. And for the payment of such principal,

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interest, damage, and expenses we oblige ourselves, our church, and successors, and all our goods, and the goods of our church, moveable or not moveable, ecclesiastical or temporal, which we have or shall have, wheresoever they shall be found, to the aforesaid merchants and their heirs. And do further recognise and acknowledge that we possess and hold the said goods from the said merchants by way of courtesy, until the premises be fully satisfied. Renouncing also, for ourselves and successors, all help of canon and civil law, all privileges and clerkship, the Epistle of St. Adrian, all customs, statutes, lectures, indulgences, and privileges obtained for the King of England from the See Apostolic, as also the benefit of all appeal or inhibition from the King of England, with all other exceptions whether real or personal that may be objected against the validity of this instrument. All which things we promise faithfully to observe, and in witness thereof have set to the seal of the Convent." (London, 24th April, 1235.)

The royal hypocrite, St. Louis of France, ordained that, "for the salvation of his own soul, and the souls of his ancestors," all Christians should be released from a third part of their debts to Jews. This instance of dishonesty combined with superstition is worthy to be recorded. According to Hallam, it was by no means an uncommon circumstance for kings, who sought money no less than popularity, to ordain that all debts due to Jews by Christians should be abolished, except a portion which, as the price of their bounty, they themselves retained. Should their rapacity and cupidity be inadequately satisfied by the seizure of

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the Jews' possessions, then were the Jews banished from the kingdom.

The Jews justified the high rate of interest they charged for the loan of money upon the same principle that, at the same period, the Christians justified their extortionate impositions for marine insurances; viz.—the principle of risk, to which the Jews were always subject in lending money to those who, in a summary manner, had both the will and the power to cancel all their money obligations.

"One species of usury," says Hallam, "and that of the highest importance to commerce, was always permitted on account of the risk attending it; this was 'marine insurance,' which could not have existed until money was considered in itself as a source of profit."

On the same authority we learn, that in the thirteenth century the Lombard usurers established themselves in all countries, in spite of much obloquy; and that the bigotry which had barred their reception succumbed to the irresistible advance of commerce. The illustrious family of the Medici were not alone sovereign princes, but bankers, merchants, and money-lenders at exorbitant interest, by which they acquired immense wealth. It is written that by a timely loan of money from the Medici, Edward IV. was enabled to recover his throne. He paid in proportion to the risk, which no doubt was very considerable; as we are informed that two money-lenders of Florence, who lent to the same monarch a large sum of money, were losers to the extent of 365,000 golden florins.

The Peruzzi and the Bardi were famous Florentine bankers and money-lenders, who lent to the then

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King of Sicily, and Edward III. of England, considerable sums of money. When these two great financial houses failed, in 1345, the English king owed to the two firms, for the loan of money and interest, no less a sum total than one million golden florins, and 600,000 golden crowns. This was indeed money-lending and usury on a princely scale!

Mr. John Addington Symonds, in his *Renaissance in Italy*, names the following among the most notorious families during the age of despots: viz.—The Medici, of Florence; the Bentivogli, of Bologna; the Baglioni, of Perugia; the Gambacorti, of Pisa; Panolfo Petrucci, of Siena (1502); and Romeo Pepoli, *the Usurer of Bologna* (1323). The bastards of popes, says the same writer, who, like Sixtus V., had no pedigree; merchants, like the Medici; the son of a peasant, like Francesco Sforza; *a rich usurer*, like Pepoli, had almost equal chances with nobles of the ancient houses of Esti, Visconti, or Malatesta.

In reply to a petition presented to the Cortes of Toledo, in 1462, King Henry IV. confirmed and approved the penalties established by justice and the laws of his kingdom "against Christians, Jews, and Moors, who lent upon usury."

The Castilian nobles were proud, indolent, and extravagant; they neglected their finances and were always in need of money. The Jews of Spain, on the contrary, frugal and attentive to their mundane interests, accumulated vast wealth. Legal interest in Spain in 1300 was 33⅓ per cent. The spendthrift Spaniard borrowed of the provident Jew, and too frequently found it inconvenient to repay the debt he

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had contracted. Then arose a popular cry against the "crime of usury," and the Jewish lender was plundered and murdered by the Christian borrower as the readiest mode of cancelling his debt.

At a Cortes held at Tarragona in 1233 it was enacted that a Jew should not lend money at a higher rate than 20 per cent. in Arragon or Catalonia, and the interest was never to exceed the principal. James I. of Spain in 1234 issued "Regulations against the cruelty of usury," in the preamble of which it is stated that:—"Christians had almost renounced usury." The intention of the new regulations was, "not to prevent Jews from lending money, for it was useful to Christians that they should do so, but to arrest abuses." It was enacted at Burgos that "henceforward no Jew shall presume to lend on usury, nor at a higher rate than 33⅓ per cent. If it should be proved and verified that any Jew has lent at a higher rate, his person and his property shall be confiscated to the King."*

Queen Doña Maria, notwithstanding her implacable prejudice against Jews and their religion, appointed as her "receivers general" two distinguished Israelites, viz:—Don Juan Garcia, and Rabbi Don Moses. Alfonso XI., and Peter, surnamed "the Cruel," likewise employed Jewish treasurers in the 13th century, although by doing so they incurred popular odium. What incontestable evidence of Jewish intelligence, integrity, and honour!

Writing in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Lord Bacon says of usury: "Since there must be borrowing

* Lindo's *History of the Jews in Spain and Portugal.*

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and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted." He continues: "It is a vanity to conceive that there could be ordinary borrowing without profit, and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue if borrowing be cramped; therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle; all States have ever had it in one kind, or rate, or other."*

Bacon further declared that only a "Utopian Government would attempt to suppress usury." Be it remembered that usury could then only have been practised by Christian, or Lombard usurers in Elizabeth's reign, as Jews were then not permitted to be domiciled in England.

Owen Feltham, the famous moralist, writing in the 17th century, says: "Usury is something difficult to be kept in the mean, easy to be led into excess, and almost by all nations at once decried and practised."†

Isaac D'Israeli mentions, in his *Curiosities of Literature*, a notorious Christian usurer of the 17th century, named Audley. He was a lawyer, and a money-lender on a gigantic scale. He invented a systematic mode of procedure, and justified his excessive profits for the use of his money by the following argument:—

"Interest is nothing more than rent for money, as rent is nothing less than usury for land." In Audley's day the legal interest was 10 per cent. But he was not satisfied with less than 30, 50, and 60 per cent. He attributed his considerable gains to the folly of his

* Lord Bacon's *Essays* (1560-1626).

† Owen Feltham's *Resolves* (17th century).

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clients and his own greater genius. "Audley," says D'Israeli, "knew mankind practically, and struck into their humours with the versatility of genius." A lord, to whom he lent money, reproached him with his extortions. "Have you no conscience?" exclaimed the peer. "Yes, most certainly I have," replied Audley, "and hereafter I intend to use it. We moneyed men must justly balance our accounts. If you do not repay me, you cheat me; if you do repay me, I cheat you." This Christian usurer died unmarried, loaded with the curses of his victims. A stranger grasped the million he had raked together.

To cultivate the soil, to practise any art,—even to trade, was, in many countries, forbidden to the Jews of the Past. They possessed no citizens' rights. The only career open to the then nomad Israelites was commerce, and to this calling they applied themselves with the zeal, acuteness, prudence, energy, diligence, and discernment characteristic of their race. Jews thus accumulated riches, and thereby secured a kind of perilous power, and some amount of temporary influence and consideration. Possessing the almost exclusive command of money, they were willing to lend it to those whose necessities obliged them to borrow. It had been prophesied by Moses (Deut. xv. 6) that Israelites should lend unto many nations, but should borrow from none.

II.

It will, perhaps, be remembered that at Paris, in 1806, was held a remarkable assembly of the most notable Jews of France, Italy, and Germany, who

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had been summoned to his capital by the Emperor Napoleon I., under the designation of the Parisian Sanhedrim. They were invited to deliver their individual and collective opinions on twelve important questions relating to the Jewish people, their religion, their customs and obligations, in order to ascertain if there actually existed anything unfavorable in them which might prevent French Israelites from becoming citizens of France, with the certain possession of every social, civil and political right enjoyed by French Christians.

The eleventh question was this:—

Does the Law forbid Jews from taking usury from their brethren?

The twelfth (and last) question was the following:—

Does it forbid, or does it allow to take usury from strangers?

In the Preface to the English version of the Transactions of the Assembly, Kirwan, the translator and editor, remarks:—

"The usurious practices of the Israelites of some departments of France were only a pretext" (to summon the Jewish council), for "it is well known that they were not the only people in France who followed that nefarious traffic; the total want of laws to repress it; the universal laxity of morals, and the uncertainty of every kind of speculation, had made it almost general among moneyed men; and five per cent. *per month* has been not unfrequently exacted by Christian money-lenders, even with the security of landed property."*

* *Transactions of the Parisian Sanhedrim, with Preface* by F. D. Kirwan, Esq. (1807).

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In reply to the eleventh question: "Does the law forbid Jews from taking usury from their brethren?"

"The Hebrew word (נֶשֶׁךְ) (*neschech*)," it was answered, "has been improperly translated by the word *usury:* in the Hebrew language it means interest of any kind, and not usurious interest. It cannot, then, be taken in the acceptation now given to the word usury."

In Deuteronomy (chap. xxiii. ver. 19) we find, "Thou shalt not lend upon interest to thy brother, interest of money, interest of food, interest of any thing that is lent upon interest. Unto an alien thou mayest lend upon interest; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon interest; that the Eternal, thy God, may bless thee in every performance of thine hand in the land whither thou goest to possess it."

The evident aim of the inspired Legislator in forbidding Israelites to lend upon interest to one another was, it was said, to bind them together in closer relations of brotherly and family love and friendship; to teach them reciprocal benevolence, and to engage them to assist each other in their necessities with disinterestedness. The Law of Moses, therefore, forbids any profit to be given for the loan of money, not only between Jews themselves, but between Jews and their fellow-countrymen. If the loan be for temporary assistance unconnected with commerce it must be gratuitous. "We must not forget that these humane and admirable laws were made for a people which then formed a State and held a rank among nations. Although filled with the spirit of

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their legislation, Jews have been sensible," since their dispersion among all the nations of the globe, "that the letter of the law could not possibly be carried out when its principle was gone; and they have therefore, without scruple, lent money on interest to trading Jews as well as to men of different religions. It should always be borne in mind that no invidious meaning was formerly attached to the word usury, and that it simply meant any kind of interest."

To the inquiry *Does the Law forbid or does it allow to take usury from strangers?* the following unanimous reply was given by the assembled Council of Israelites:—"In the answer to the foregoing question it will be seen that the prohibition of usury considered as the smallest interest was a maxim of charity and benevolence rather than a commercial regulation. In this point of view we are forbidden, on the score of charity, to lend upon interest to our fellow-citizens of different religions as well as to our co-religionists. The disposition of the law which allows to take interest from the stranger clearly refers only to nations in commercial intercourse with us; otherwise there would be an evident contradiction between this passage and many other ordinances of the sacred writings such as the subjoined:—

"The Lord your God loveth the stranger; love ye, therefore, the stranger," &c. "One law shall be to him that is home-born, and to the stranger." "Judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him." "If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land you shall not vex him." "Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him,

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for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." "If thy brother be waxen poor, or fallen into decay, thou shalt relieve him; yea, though he be a stranger or a sojourner," &c.*

"Thus the prohibition extended to the stranger who dwelt in Israel. Holy Writ places the stranger under the safeguard of God: he is a sacred guest, and God ordains that he is to be treated as the widow and the orphan. It is evident that the text of the Vulgate—*Extranei fœnaberis fratri tuo non fœnaberis*—can be understood only as meaning foreign nations in commercial intercourse with us; and, even in this case, Holy Writ, allowing interest to be taken from the stranger, does not mean an exorbitant profit, oppressive and odious to the borrower. *Non licuisse Israelitis*, say the doctors, *usuras immoderatas exigere ab extraneis etiam divitibus, res est per se nota.*"

M. Clermont-Tonnerre in the first National Assembly held in France made the following remarkable declaration:—"It is said that usury is permitted to the Jews. This assertion is grounded only on a false interpretation of a principle of benevolence and fraternity which forbade them from lending money to one another upon interest."

This is also the opinion of Puffendorf, and of other writers on the Law of Nations. "It cannot be with reason supposed that God, the Universal Father, would have made usury a precept!"

The unanimous opinion of the Jewish doctors is that profit for the use of money, even among Israelites themselves, may be legally taken in commercial opera-

* *Transactions of the Parisian Sanhedrim*, p. 201-3.

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tions where the lender, running some of the risk of the borrower, becomes a sharer in his profits. The Council of the Parisian Sanhedrim concluded their replies to the 11th and 12th questions submitted to them in the following terms:—

"It is evident that opinions, teeming with absurdities, and contrary to all rules of social morality, can no more be imputed to the general doctrine of the Jews than similar notions, if advanced by Catholic theologians, could be attributed to the evangelical doctrine. The same may be said of the general charge made against the Hebrews, that they are naturally inclined to usury. It cannot be denied that some of them are to be found, though not so many as is generally supposed, who follow that nefarious traffic condemned by their religion.

"But if there are some not over scrupulous in this particular, is it just to accuse one hundred thousand individuals of this vice? Would it not be deemed an injustice to lay the same imputation upon all Christians because some of them are guilty of usury?"

III.

The usury laws of England, which had regulated the rate of interest that might be legally taken for the loan of money throughout Great Britain and Ireland, were repealed in 1854, by the 17th and 18th Victoria, c. 90, whereby it was enacted: "That where interest is now payable upon any contract for payment of legal interest, or where upon any debt

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or sum of money interest is now payable by any rule of law, the same rate of interest is recoverable as if that Act had not passed."

The statute which the new Act repealed was entitled, "The Statute against usury." It was passed in Queen Anne's reign, and limited the legal rate of interest to 5 per cent.

"The entire freedom of money from unnecessary restrictions," says an anonymous writer on finance, "was probably brought about by a work of the celebrated Jeremy Bentham, the value of whose arguments was more clearly perceived day by day, till the burden of the restriction became too great to be borne. It was observed that other things might be hired, money paid for their hire, and profit accrue therefrom. I hire a house, and I pay interest or, more strictly speaking, usury for it—only I call it 'rent.' I hire a servant, and I pay usury for him—only I call it 'wages.' I hire a horse, and again I pay usury, only in this case I call it 'hire.' Why should I not in like manner hire so many ounces of gold, and pay usury for it under the name of 'interest'?"

"The rate of interest under present circumstances is regulated by the general law of supply and demand." "A great amount of reasoning was expended on behalf of the usury laws, none of which would bear any close examination." It was "remembered that there is no natural rate of interest; the rate depending upon the time when and place where, as well as from whom and by whom the capital is borrowed." "It is clear that the notion that the usury laws were necessary to the wellbeing of the

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agriculturist was founded upon a series of fallacies which, though supported by names as respectable as those of Adam Smith, and Hume, were unable to resist the flood of light which Jeremy Bentham poured upon them. They had never been brought to the test of experience, and like many other theories of a similar nature as soon as the experiment was tried the old doctrine disappeared, and the wonder was that it had been able to hold its place so long." "It was resolved, in the year 1854, that the usury laws should no longer retain their place in the English statute-book. They were repealed with the approbation of the most enlightened portion of the mercantile community, and no enactment of modern times has been more completely justified by the result."

The repeal of the usury laws in Great Britain and Ireland renders legal the receipt of any amount of interest for the loan of money to which the borrower and lender of money may find it expedient to agree; thus the ill-reputed term, usury, in its objectionable sense as formerly comprehended, should now become obsolete; for it must be obvious that if the term usury be held to indicate "illegal interest," and there be no such thing recognised by our laws as "illegal interest," the word has lost its quondam significance, and therefore has no present use in this country.

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No. IV.

THE JEWISH CLERGY IN ENGLAND.

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"WHEN YE GLORIFY THE LORD, EXALT HIM AS MUCH AS YE CAN; FOR EVEN YET WILL HE FAR EXCEED: AND WHEN YE EXALT HIM, PUT FORTH ALL YOUR STRENGTH, AND BE NOT WEARY; FOR YE CAN NEVER GO FAR ENOUGH." *Ecclesiasticus* xliii.

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No. IV.

THE JEWISH CLERGY IN ENGLAND.

I.

A FEW years since there appeared in a London periodical an article entitled "The Jewish Clergy," in which, in most admired disorder, were mingled some few truths with numerous errors—much inaccurate information joined to facts, which, without explanation, would naturally lead to misapprehension. Under the guise of amicable interest was discernible the malevolent spirit of depreciation. The writer had doubtless been "crammed," and, from his apparent unacquaintance with his subject, it was evident that he was incapable of separating the chaff from the wheat—the false from the true. It will be my endeavour, therefore, to make clear some matters in relation to the constitution of the Jewish Synagogue in this country, and also of the Jewish Clergy, which would appear to be misunderstood by those outside the boundaries of Judaism.

The ministers of the Jewish Synagogue are commonly mentioned by non-Israelites as "priests" and "rabbis." This is a pardonable error. No Jewish minister is a priest unless he be descended from the priestly family of Aaron; nor a Rabbi, unless that theological degree be conferred upon him by a rabbinical authority. He is not *ex-officio* either a priest or a rabbi; but he may

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be one or the other, or he may be both, or neither. If he be a priest he does not act officially in that capacity, the office of priest having ceased with the destruction of the Holy Temple of Jerusalem in the 70th year of the Christian era. A Jewish minister adopts the prefix "reverend" in conformity with the modern clerical custom.

The "Children of Israel" are, upon divine authority, a "nation of priests, and a holy people;" and, by virtue of that high sanction, if otherwise duly qualified by learning, by moral and religious conduct, every Jew, whatever may be his social position, is possessed, by inheritance, of the sacred privilege of performing not only Divine service, but also, with few exceptions, every religious rite. It has been an occasional reproach to Jews that their clergy are, as a rule, men of humble birth. Even if this were true, it is an objection which comes inconsistently from Christians, whose first religious teachers were the fishermen of Galilee. Jewish ministers of religion of humble origin who have raised themselves to that honoured status by personal merit must be men possessed of many natural gifts, and a capacity for religious ministration. How honourable to Hebrew congregations who accept their spiritual teachings and guidance, despite their humble birth! It should not be forgotten that a large proportion of all congregations of worshippers, of all denominations, consists of, so called, self-made men, whose origin may have been even lower than that of their religious teachers, and who have most praiseworthily elevated themselves in the social scale by personal ability and persevering industry; and that some

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of England's most illustrious judges, and many popes of Rome, before whom emperors and kings were wont to bend the knee, have been men of humble origin.

It has been admitted that, "taken as a whole, the members of the Jewish clerical profession are an exemplary body of men, whose behaviour the ministers of other religious sects would do well to emulate, and that, for the most part, the Jewish clergy resident in London are well-bred gentlemen, and, despite their humble birth, can lay claim to being as thoroughly *au fait* with the regulations of good society as the highest aristocrats in the land." What more should be required of them as regards their social character? It is likewise freely acknowledged that, "as a rule, the metropolitan Jewish clergy are fairly educated, although the ministers of several London synagogues know little else than Hebrew." This assertion is very wide of the fact. I am acquainted with no metropolitan Jewish minister who has not received a sound, although, perhaps, not a classical education. But there are many members of the acting Jewish clergy who are as highly cultured as the best educated among the Christian clergy; and many who possess a larger amount of scriptural and classical knowledge than many Christian clergymen. It would be unfair to point to individuals in illustration, but it may be confidently averred that in this country, on the continent of Europe, in America and Australia, there are Jewish ministers whose general academical and theological attainments may vie with those of the most learned Christian theologians of any age; and of

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whom any religious community may be justly proud: Among the Jewish clergy, as among the Christian clergy, not excepting those of the established Church, there are of course inferior as well as superior men. It has been remarked that as the greater portion of the Jewish liturgy is of a musical character, a good voice in a Jewish minister is indispensable. It is undoubtedly true, that in the, so called, orthodox synagogues throughout the world the principal portion of the Hebrew liturgy is chanted, or intoned, in the ancient Oriental manner peculiar to Jews; consequently a good voice is required in a *Chazzān* (חַזָּן) or reader, or chanter, as it is in a vicar-choral, part of whose clerical duty it is to intone or chant the Church service in a protestant cathedral; or in a Roman catholic priest who intones the vespers in a Roman basilica. Be it remembered that it has always been the custom to recite oriental languages in a kind of chant or "sing-song," and that the ancient Greek Drama was so intoned. In synagogues where the prayers are read in the English manner, according to the sense of the words, and where only the Psalms and other more recent sacred poems are chanted or sung by a trained choir, no special vocal qualification is called for in a Jewish minister. It is, however, not sufficient that a *Chazzān* should be gifted with a musical voice; he must, besides, be an excellent Hebraist, and possess a thorough acquaintance with the Mosaic code, oral as well as written, and although he may not be a preacher, he must be competent to interpret the Holy Scriptures when required to do so; and, moreover, his character and conduct must be beyond reproach.

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In the Jewish Synagogue of ancient times the (חַזָּן) *Chazzān*, or the (חַזַּן־הַכְּנֶסֶת) *Chazzān-hakkenēseth*, the "Legatus," or appointed Clerk of the Synagogue, was regarded as an official of humble pretensions, holding, as he then did, the office of *Watcher*, or *Overseer* of the congregation. During the existence of the Holy Temple of Jerusalem, the *Chazzān* was the *Server* (שַׁמָּשׁ) of the congregation. His duty on the Day of Atonement was to take the Roll of the Law from the Ark and hand it to the *Rōsh-hakkenēseth* (רֹאשׁ־הַכְּנֶסֶת), "Chief of the Synagogue," who, in turn, handed it to the *Sagān* (סָגָן), who then presented it to the High Priest. A remarkable parallel has been observed between the four orders of the Holy Temple, and the minor and major orders of the Roman Catholic Church. In the former the *Chazzān*, the *Rosh-hakkenēseth*, the *Sagān*, and the *High Priest*; and in the latter the *Server* (sub-Deacon), the *Deacon*, the *Priest*, the *Bishop*, (Archbishop, or Pope).

The *Chazzān* of the ancient Synagogue gradually rose in importance from being only a Server to becoming a minister of the congregation, and subsequently a Jewish Reader, or Precentor. It has been supposed that the name *Επισκοπος* (*Episcopos*) may have been adopted in the Christian Church as corresponding with the title *Chazzān*, whose root, *chazzah*, signifies "to see." It has been pointed out, also, that the bearer of that denomination rose from being a minister *of* the congregation to be God's appointed minister *to* the congregation, and that his promotion culminated in the highest priestly office of bishop. It would appear that there existed anciently another functionary

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attached to the Synagogue whose office was always honorary, and regarded as one of marked distinction. His title was *Sheliach Tzibbur* (שְׁלִיחַ צִיבּוּר) Deputy of the congregation.* It was his duty to recite the prayers. It will be seen hereafter that a similar custom still obtains in many provincial synagogues in our own day. The office is now, as a rule, merged in that held by the duly appointed professional *Chazzān*, now known as the *Reader* of the Synagogue. He is not necessarily a preacher, neither is a preacher of necessity a reader. A Jewish minister may be both a reader and a preacher, or he may be only a preacher or only a reader. The second reader of some synagogues is now often appointed to discharge also the duties of secretary. The clerical staff varies in number in each synagogue. In the West London Synagogue of British Jews there are three ministers, besides a secretary. The duties of a Jewish minister are alike heavy and responsible. In addition to his synagogue functions he is called upon to visit the poor, and to attend the sick and dying; to attend funerals, and to read the burial service. He has likewise to visit industrial schools, asylums, hospitals, and prisons. The Jewish clergy are, as a rule, most worthy excellent men, self-sacrificing and ever ready to give up their personal ease and comfort to attend the bereaved mourner, the sorrowful and afflicted, and to impart spiritual truths to willing ears craving for religious consolation; and, further, to inspire the blessed hope of a blissful hereafter to the hesitating

* "*The Memor-Book of Nürnberg*," A.D. 1349. Edited by W. H. Lowe, M.A.

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and the despairing. Jewish ministers have in prospect no remunerative clerical appointments to reward them for a life of anxiety and labour in the zealous discharge of their multifarious sacred functions. At the very best their stipends are moderate in value, although the incomes of some members of the Jewish clerical profession exceed in amount those of many worthy and talented rectors and vicars of the Established Church of England. It is unhappily true that there are many excellent Jewish ministers actively employed in small provincial towns, as miserably remunerated as are numerous highly-talented and most excellent Christian curates, who are, as they are, obliged to supplement the amount of their small stipends by private tuition. A Jewish minister who is capable of increasing his income by giving instruction in his own and in foreign languages, cannot be deficient in culture, as many anti-Semites would endeavour to make him appear to be.

It has been asserted that "the provincial Jewish clergy are far inferior to their London colleagues." Formerly this might, in some instances, have been partly true, but at the present time it cannot be accepted as a correct statement; although, of course, in the Jewish, as well as in the Christian clerical profession, there are, and always will be found gradations of ability, as in other professions. It has also been stated that "the greater part of the Jewish clergy who officiate in country synagogues are natives of Poland, and that they are generally ignorant of the English language." This statement is very far from being accurate. It is not to be

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denied that among the able Jewish ministers engaged in the provinces there are some foreigners. Many may be only moderately learned in the Sacred Scriptures, while others may be highly cultured and accomplished men who have pursued their secular education at one or more of the continental universities, and their theological studies at one or more of the famous rabbinical colleges which abound on the continent. It is even possible that a born German or Polish Jew —self-educated, it may be, like the immortal Moses Mendelssohn,—having in his own country been engaged as an artizan, like Benedict Spinoza, and other illustrious Jewish philosophers, or in following some honourable trade, like the learned David Levi,—his antecedents bearing a strict scrutiny, and, moreover, his numerous qualifications as a Jewish minister and religious teacher being undoubted, may wend his steps to this country, and, in time, may be appointed to some provincial synagogue, and afterwards to a metropolitan synagogue. The communal history of the Jews of all European countries furnishes innumerable examples of such honourable and praiseworthy intellectual advancement. Such a foreign Jewish minister may, or may not be, an English classical scholar, but he will most likely know, in addition to his native language, and the Hebrew tongue, some one or more modern languages. There are in many large and small towns in England, Ireland, and Wales some very small resident Jewish communities consisting, perhaps, of a few families only, the heads of whom are daily engaged in commerce or trade. These are wont to assemble regularly on the Sabbath, and on the

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festivals and fasts, for public prayer. The congregation may be too limited in number to warrant the engagement of a professional minister and the cost of a synagogue. The latter is perhaps represented by a sufficiently commodious apartment consecrated for divine worship, and the office of minister is delegated, as in ancient times to a *Sheliach Tzibbūr* (שְׁלִיחַ צִיבּוּר), "Deputy of the Congregation," whose theological and ministerial qualifications enable him to undertake the *honorary* sacred office. In every congregation of Jews there will always be found some members whose superior attainments and high character naturally point them out as leaders, or elders of their congregation, and who take a prominent and zealous part in all religious and public matters. They may be accepted as representative men of Israel. The performance of the clerical functions by such selected members of the community has sometimes given rise to very ridiculous errors, misconceptions, and consequent misrepresentations. For instance, it may happen that a Jewish watchmaker, or a jeweller or picture dealer of the town, who may have been seen on the Jewish Sabbath performing divine service, and preaching a sermon in the synagogue, or in the apartment used as its substitute, may during the ensuing week be recognised by a non-Israelite at his place of business engaged in his ordinary vocation, vending, perhaps, a watch, or a necklace, or a picture. It would at once go forth, and receive general acceptation, and a wide circulation that a "Jewish clergyman" had been seen to sell a watch, or a necklace, or a picture, and the strange news would possibly be welcomed with

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expressions of religious horror and strong condemnation; whereas the innocent vendor of the articles of his legitimate trade was not a "Jewish clergyman," but an honourable watchmaker, jeweller, or picture dealer. Such absurd misconceptions and misrepresentations have been of very common, and frequent occurrence.

II.

That there exist two large and distinct Jewish communities, denominated respectively the "Spanish and Portuguese Jews," or *Sephardim*, and the "German Jews," or *Ashkenazim*, is known to many non-Israelites; but, in order to make intelligible what I shall have to remark with respect to both congregations, it will be expedient to state that they are not necessarily Jews born in Spain, Portugal, or Germany, and, that, according to the country of their nativity, they may be Englishmen, Frenchmen, Irishmen, Dutchmen, or Germans. The subject of the Jewish clergy in England will oblige me to make frequent allusions to the two great Jewish communities, and it will, therefore, be desirable that the uninformed should at once have a clear conception of their origin, and of their mutual relations.

It will be known to those who have studied the tremendous narrative of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and the sad history which recounts the wholesale dispersion of the Jews, that, after having been engaged in repeated conflicts with their overwhelming assailants, whereby hundreds of thousands of their valiant Jewish warriors were slain and taken

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captive, the undaunted Hebrews, again and again, confronted their implacable foes in astounding numbers, with unquelled spirit and unabated vigour, in defence of their homes, their country, their political life, and their religion.

The Jews, with renovated strength, revived from their unceasing death-struggles. Their country lost to them, their national life extinct, they ceased to be a nation; but they remained, nevertheless, a distinct and mighty people, united by the same religion and laws, bound together by indissoluble ties of brotherhood—obeying in common the same ordinances, and pursuing the like national usages and sacred observances. Eventually they spread throughout the entire habitable world, divided however into two extensive communities, respectively entitled ספרדים (*Sĕphărdīm*), and אַשְׁכְּנַזִים (*Ashkĕnăzīm*); more commonly known as the "Spanish and Portuguese," and the "German Jews." The word *Sĕphărdīm* was derived from ספרד (*Sĕphărād*), which was held to represent Spain; while the term אשכנז—*Ashkĕnāz* (Jeremiah li. 27), being in sound like *Askania*, a province in Germany, was adopted as the name of the whole country. *Ashkĕnāz* (Genesis x. 3) is mentioned as one of the grandsons of Japheth.

The Spanish Jews, who claim direct descent from the House of David, and the Tribe of Judah, found in the 20th verse of Obadiah a satisfactory confirmation of their cherished tradition, that long antecedent to the fall of Jerusalem their ancestors were established in *Sĕphărād*, otherwise Spain. The "German Jews," likewise, claimed to have had almost as ancient a

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community in Germany, and having, as it appears, given a sufficiently convincing proof that their forefathers had, from time immemorial, inhabited the imperial city, Worms, obtained from the then emperor of Germany special privileges.

Separated by distance, and by various circumstances the Judaism of both communities remained intact. Some inappreciable difference appeared in their several rituals, and considerable diversity was observable in their mode of pronouncing the sacred language, that of the Spanish Jews being generally deemed the more ancient, and the less corrupt; but there never existed any difference in their religious belief. "Whence came those Mosaic Arabs whose passage across the state from Africa to Europe long preceded the invasion of the Mahommedan Arabs, it is impossible to ascertain. . . . Whatever may have been their origin in Africa, their fortunes in southern Europe are not difficult to trace; though the annals of no race in any age can detail a history of such strange vicissitudes, or one rife with more touching or romantic incident. . . Even after the fall of the principal Moorish kingdoms, the Jews of Spain were still treated by the conquering Goths with tenderness and consideration." Thus wrote the late Lord Beaconsfield.

The history of both Jewish communities is to be traced in that of every country in which they from time to time sojourned. Upon their dire persecutions and unspeakable sufferings, of which there exist ample records, it is unnecessary to dwell; it is more agreeable to refer to their occasional prosperous con-

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dition in many countries, more particularly in Spain and Portugal, under the reigns of the Moorish sovereigns, when, by means of their acute intelligence, their remarkable learning, and their boundless wealth, they commanded consideration, and occupied positions of honour and great splendour. Alternately banished and recalled; abandoned, and again protected; and, often hovering on the verge of extermination, the Jews still held on perseveringly, and in the 17th century were to be found in almost every country. When, in 1655, permission was granted to them to return to this country, after an exile of 365 years, it was the descendants of the banished Spanish and Portuguese Jews who first landed in England, and built the first synagogue in London in 1656.

Among the *Sĕphărdīm* were several families whose ancestors had been ennobled in Spain and Portugal, and who had held high offices in their native country when under Moorish rule. These comprised eminent physicians, men of learning, and wealthy merchants, who soon began to occupy important financial positions, and to maintain princely homes in the large mansions, situated at the east end of London, the then fashionable locality, where the merchant princes of England "most did congregate." The newly arrived *Sĕphărdīc* community included the families of the Alvares, the Lopez, the Mendez, the Nunez, the Villareals, the Garcias, the Francos, the Salvadors, the Rebellos, the De Castros, the Da Costas, the Ricardos, the Bernals, the Furtados, the De Souzas, and others too numerous to notice. These Jewish emigrants were characterised by a stateliness of man-

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ner, a haughtiness of demeanour, and pride of descent. Being foreigners, they were, of course, but imperfectly instructed in our language, and they therefore continued to use their own language in all their synagogue and communal transactions. A few years after their establishment in London, another Jewish community, of Teutonic origin, migrated in large numbers from Germany, Poland, Holland, and Hungary. Their antecedents had not been so splendid as those of their Spanish and Portuguese brethren in faith. In point of fact they had, for ages, suffered such continuous frightful oppression from the rulers and people of their native countries, which they at length abandoned, that they had been forced, *nolens volens*, to pursue vocations which could not possibly tend to elevate their national character. They were consequently regarded by the proud *Sephardim* as an inferior section of their own race, which, in reality, they had become. Although connected by the potent bond of religious brotherhood, socially they were separated from the Spanish and Portuguese Jews. No intermarriages were permitted to take place between the families of the *Ashkenazim* and *Sephardim* until the lapse of many years after their resettlement in this country. The "German Jews" built an independent synagogue of their own in 1692; and the Spanish and Portuguese Jews of London built a new and larger synagogue in 1701. It is curious to note that whereas when the Jews, after a banishment of many centuries, were readmitted to England, it was the *Sephardic* community who were, for a long period, the foremost Jews in this

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country; it is now, and has been for some years past, the Jews of Teutonic origin, with some very honourable exceptions, who are actually the most famous; for the abundance of their wealth; as professional men; as members of the English Bar; as magistrates; as high civil and municipal officers; as Members of Parliament; as Indian Civil servants; as judges; as architects and civil engineers; and as musicians, painters, and poets. If the *Sephardim* have produced a Benedict Spinoza, the *Ashkenazim* have given to the world a Moses Mendelssohn. There now happily exist thoroughly intimate relations between the two, formerly separated, Jewish communities, which are each year becoming, if possible, stronger by intermarriages, and other powerful social influences. At the head of both stands grandly conspicuous the majestic figure of the venerable and illustrious Hebrew patriarch, and universal philanthropist, Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., F.R.S., now in the 98th year of his age.

The first Jewish settlers in England were, of course, foreigners; their sons were British-born; their grandsons, and their descendants were, and are, as thoroughly Englishmen as the descendants of the Grosvenors, the Bentincks, the Granvilles, and other English Christian families whose names betray their foreign origin.

Although scarcely credible, it is a curious fact that there positively exist many Christian Englishmen and women, who are supposed to be well informed upon most subjects, but who, nevertheless, still regard Jews and Jewesses born and bred in England as "foreigners,"

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because, forsooth, their ancestors were Israelites, and they elect to follow their ancient religion; and moreover, because they may bear, or their ancestors may have borne, scriptural, or foreign-sounding patronymics. Not long since a famous English legislator was credited with having inconsiderately asserted of the late Earl of Beaconsfield, presumably in the spirit of disparagement, that he "had not a drop of English blood in his veins," evidently ignoring the patent fact that not only he himself was born in London, but that his father and his grandfather were British-born, and that his blood, derived from his glorious Jewish ancestors, was as pure, and as rich in colour and quality as that which flows in the veins of any other Englishman, Irishman, or Scotchman, whose ancestors may have been Saxon, Danish, Norman, or Celtic.

III.

Until within comparatively recent times the Jews of Great Britain and Ireland, whether of the *Sephardic* or *Ashkenazic* congregations, obtained their clergy from abroad. The former from Holland or Italy, the latter from Holland, Germany, Poland, and countries adjacent. Until the University of London and the London Jewish College were instituted, a sound secular and theological education fitting for a Jewish minister of superior pretensions was difficult of acquirement in England. The long-established, and famous foreign universities, and the many rabbinical colleges of the continent then offered facilities for a solid theological and classical training, which had, in addition, the

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attraction of cheapness. Since Jews, besides being admissible to the London University, can now graduate at the older Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, many young Englishmen of the Jewish faith have gained high academical distinctions at those universities, some of whom are now zealously and successfully engaged in the Jewish clerical profession in London and also in the provinces. It is generally believed that others, inspired by religious emulation, are preparing for the sacred profession of the Synagogue under similar favourable auspices.

Since pulpit instruction is becoming every year more appreciated, and, consequently, more in demand as an essential part of the synagogue service, a higher standard of education, alike secular and theological, is now imperatively demanded from all candidates for the Jewish clerical profession than when synagogue preaching in the vernacular was more the exception than the rule; also a loftier religious tone in his sacred aspirations, and a more elevated intellectual character are now exacted from the Jewish preacher.

It is supposed that the first English sermon heard in a synagogue was preached in 1701 by the *Chăchām*, (חָכָם) Rabbi Nieto, who was the first ecclesiastical head of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation of London. One or two English sermons were afterwards preached, but at distant intervals. An English Jewish sermon was delivered at the great synagogue of German Jews in 1805, on the occasion of Lord Nelson's funeral. An English sermon was also preached in the synagogue in 1820, when George III. was buried. Some Jewish sermons were heard in English at Liver-

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pool about the year 1829, but from some cause not known they were discontinued. The late Rev. Professor D. M. Isaacs established weekly sermons in English in the Bristol Synagogue nearly half a century ago; and on his removal to Liverpool, in 1836-7, he continued to preach regularly every week on the Sabbath; and, afterwards, on alternate Sabbaths at Liverpool and Manchester. Some very able sermons were also delivered about forty years ago by the Rev. Moses Nathan, at Kingston, Jamaica, which served to arouse an increased amount of religious fervour in the *Sephardic* and *Ashkenazic* congregations of that once famous British colony.

English preaching in synagogues, except upon special occasions, and then not unfrequently by learned Jewish laymen, does not therefore date back beyond fifty years. Sermons in the English language were consequently but seldom heard in this country, although regularly delivered in Philadelphia, U.S., by the late learned, and most valued minister, the Rev. Isaac Leeser, and in other cities of America by many eminent Jewish pastors. Even up to the present time English preaching in the synagogues of Great Britain and Ireland has not become regular, except in certain synagogues to which I shall specially refer hereafter. There are now, however, many young and most promising Jewish preachers, moved by the genuine religious spirit which pure Judaism inspires. The majority of these young men, although they may bear foreign patronymics, are none the less Englishmen by birth and training. To those who are sincerely interested in Jewish advancement, it cannot

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but prove satisfactory to notice the unmistakable progress which is gradually taking place in Jewish communal affairs, and more particularly in all that relates to the clerical service of the Synagogue. During the past twenty years several new synagogues have been erected in various parts of the metropolis. Jewish families have been always disinclined to reside far from their house of worship. When they first re-established themselves in London, and for a long period afterwards, they were all domiciled at the east end of London, and their synagogues were, consequently, built within a walking distance of their homes. When, after the lapse of many years, Jews were induced to remove to the west end of the town, they again built their synagogues as near as possible to their residences. Now that the increase of their numbers, and their dispersion to every district of this ever increasing metropolis and its environs, in common with their Christian fellow-citizens, have necessitated the establishment of several new synagogues in various directions, a demand has been created for a larger number of Jewish ministers of a higher standard of excellence than was, in former years, required. This noticeable improvement in synagogue transactions, and the increased spiritual activity which it has inspired in those who honourably take the lead in religious matters, cannot but be productive of very remarkable and beneficial results to every Jewish congregation throughout the empire.

With a few brilliant exceptions the preaching of the Jewish clergy is of the average merit to be found among the great majority of Christian preachers.

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A vast number of various qualifications are required to constitute a first-class preacher, which are but rarely combined in one person. A preacher of genius, with the ability to suggest new ideas, or old ideas made to appear like new; and the power to stir the human heart, and arouse permanent religious feeling, is indeed seldom found in the ministry of either the Church or the Synagogue. There have been many preachers of that high class in the olden time, and there yet exist some few who possess that magic power. We must hope to see it more fully revived in the Jewish Synagogue, in which, it must be admitted, a painful degree of supineness and religious indifference has too long obtained.

It would indeed be absurd to contrast, in any manner, the Church with the Synagogue as a profession; when the large Christian congregations and their requirements from the Christian clergy, and the small Jewish congregations and their requirements from the Jewish clergy are considered. It is obvious that no possible relative estimate or comparison can be made between them. In most Christian families holding a certain rank in society there will always be found one or more sons "destined for the Church;" whether they be by nature, constitution, taste or talents duly fitted, or, on the contrary, unfitted for that sacred calling. The profession of the Church carries with it a pronounced social status which all men are more or less desirous of attaining, either for themselves or their sons; even setting aside family, or friendly influences which might be within the reach of those who would aspire to clerical dignities which generally command substantial

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worldly remuneration. Not so the profession of the Synagogue. Independently of higher views the office of Jewish minister ensures, as yet, no special social position, and, consequently, it offers no particular attraction to wealthy and ambitious parents who are naturally desirous of seeing their sons rise to worldly distinction, and, if possible, to wealth. Unless, therefore, a talented and aspiring young Israelite be led to the Jewish clerical profession by an inner consciousness of the sublime truths of Judaism, and by an ardent religious spirit, he would probably perceive in the vocation of the Law a wider scope for intellectual advancement, and a nearer prospect of professional eminence.

No man should enter the profession of the Synagogue who is not deeply impressed with the serious responsibilities it involves, and who does not fully realise the magnitude of his holy mission. If he be thus inspired he will recognise the vocation of a Jewish religious teacher and guide to be one which cannot be surpassed for intensity of purpose, and sanctitude of practice. His own inspirations will be reflected in the holy aspirations of his congregation, who will instinctively discover in their minister a character worthy of their highest respect and reverence. Jewish young men of independent means, who may be filled with the fervent spirit of their religion, and moreover, flushed with academical honours, will then seek to enter the profession of the Synagogue, and still claim their rightful rank in society. Other spiritual-minded young Jews will eagerly follow such examples, and will occupy, in time, the honoured clerical positions now

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held by the many worthy and esteemed pastors who have grown grey in the exercise of their sacred functions. It cannot be doubted that there is already a perceptibly significant movement among the more wealthy class of British-born Jews towards the profession of the Synagogue, which cannot but tend to its future glory. Much will depend upon the countenance and encouragement given by the great body of the Jewish people in this country to zealous young aspirants to the Ministry; but even more will depend upon the high educational standard, the spiritual character, the moral conduct, and the ardent, united action, as a religious body, of the forthcoming young Jewish clergymen themselves.

IV.

A synagogue established upon reformed principles was consecrated in London about forty years ago. It was founded by a united congregation of influential "Spanish and Portuguese" and "German" Jews, under the designation of *The West London Synagogue of British Jews*; the term *British Jews* being adopted not with the object, as was at first conjectured, of instituting a new Jewish sect, but merely with the view of discarding the long-existing distinction between the "Spanish and Portuguese" and "German" Jews in respect to that particular congregation, whose members were British-born. This active Jewish movement has exercised a very beneficial influence upon the general conduct of divine service in all

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synagogues throughout the country. In order that the character of the synagogue, its object, and the motives which inspired its foundation may be fully comprehended by those outside the pale of Judaism, I will venture to cite a few interesting extracts from a lecture delivered by its chief minister, the Rev. Professor D. W. Marks, at the Philosophical Institute of Edinburgh in 1871.

"Up to the year 1841 the English Synagogue continued to be in every way a copy of that of the Middle Ages. Repeated efforts had been made by some of the better educated of the laity to induce the ecclesiastical authorities to sanction modifications in the ritual, by means of which it might be brought into harmony with the requirements of the age, but without any avail. The rulers of the Synagogue not only refused to inaugurate any improvements in the prevailing mode of worship, but they broadly declared that there existed nowhere any authority that could sanction a single deviation from the customary synagogue discipline, to which time and prescription had imparted the force of immutable law. When all hope of synagogal reform emanating from the Ecclesiastical Board was at an end, a small body of Jews in the metropolis determined to take the important work into their own hands, and in January, 1842, was opened the first reformed English synagogue. This movement was the cause of wounding many old and honest prejudices, and of arousing some bitter feelings. Time and reflection have healed many differences, and have assuaged angry feelings. We are yet divided on some questions, purely and wholly ritual; we are,

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nevertheless, drawn closely together by a common belief, and by mutual sympathies, and for all communal purposes we act as one inseparable brotherhood. The new congregation has rapidly increased in numbers, and we now occupy a spacious synagogue in Upper Berkeley Street. Our ritual has been adopted by a large congregation at Manchester, as well as by many of our brethren in the Colonies and America."

The majority of the founders of the West London Synagogue being of the *Sephardic* community they determined upon adopting for divine service the Spanish and Portuguese pronunciation of the Hebrew language as in their old synagogues. The prayers, and the selected weekly portions of the Pentateuch and the Prophets which form part of the Sabbath and Festival ritual are plainly read, and not chanted as in the older established and so-called orthodox synagogues. The Psalms are chanted, or sung to regular compositions, both ancient and modern, by a trained choir, accompanied by the organ. English sermons form part of every service. It is due to the chief minister, the Rev. Professor Marks, to mention that it was he who, in 1842, established the first regular weekly Jewish pulpit in London. He was ordained minister, at the request of his whole congregation, by the late venerable Mr. Moses Mocatta, its oldest member, who was deputed to induct him in his sacred office in their name, and in their behalf.

A few words upon the subject of the ordination of Jewish ministers, which would not appear to be generally understood, will be found interesting.

In the 27th Chapter of the Book of *Numbers*, verses

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18-23, we read: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and *lay thine hands upon him;* And set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation; and give him a charge in their sight. . . . And Moses did as the Lord commanded him: and he took Joshua, and set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation; And he *laid his hands upon him,* and gave him a charge, as the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses." And again we read, in the 34th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, the 9th verse: "And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses *had laid his hands upon him;* and the children of Israel hearkened unto him, and did as the Lord commanded Moses." These are the earliest Biblical notices of the ordination of an appointed minister, or, as anciently understood, teacher. His privilege of imparting religious instruction was originally conferred upon him by the imposition of hands, the *Sĕmeecha* (סְמִיכָה); and, according to a tradition of the Rabbins, its practice continued to be observed until the last representatives of the "Synagoga Magna" had passed away, when it gradually lost its obligatory character. The custom was obliged to be discontinued in consequence of the terrific persecutions of the Jews at the commencement of the second century of the Christian Era. For having ordained five disciples during the reign of Hadrian, the learned Rabbi, Joshua ben Baba, suffered a cruel martyrdom. Rabbi Jochanan, the head of the school of Tiberias, is supposed to have been the last who conferred the rite of ordination; as it was generally

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understood that that ceremonial was to be no longer observed, either within or without the boundaries of Palestine. Every attempt to revive this ancient religious custom has been unsuccessful. The imposition of hands, or *Sĕmeecha* (סְמִיכָה), which has been mentioned subsequent to the first half of the sixth century of the Christian Era, had no religious character, but referred only to a secular rite relating to the election of the "Prince of the Captivity." Three distinct classes of religious teachers, or, in modern parlance, ministers, are noticeable in the history of Judaism. The first class, which, it is assumed, did not survive the third century, comprised those who had been ordained in Palestine by the imposition of hands. The second included those who exercised the functions of a minister, or teacher, upon the licence and authority of the Prince of the Captivity—*The Rēsh Gelōutha* (ריש גלותא). The third class acted upon the absolute will of the congregation only, without further licence or authority. It would appear that the famous Jewish traveller of the 13th century, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, confirms this view, inasmuch as he avers that the Prince of the Captivity gave licence and authority to every Jewish congregation to elect its own minister. This historical fact is, I apprehend, not generally admitted by those members of the Jewish body who seek to uphold a kind of priestly authority in the matter of ordination. As I undertake only to state facts, as far as my means of information will enable me to obtain them, I must leave to others to settle among themselves any points of difference upon this interesting subject.

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In the Introduction to the revised prayer book, as used by the congregation of the West London Synagogue of British Jews, the following notice of the several liturgies of the Synagogue by the Rev. Professor Marks, the editor of the work, will be read with interest:—

"The greater part of the liturgies in use among the Israelites are compilations from the Bible text, adapted, according to the judgment of the compilers, to the various occasions for which prayer is instituted. Although there does exist a notable difference in the various orders of service as used in different countries, and even by different congregations in the same country, still the general uniformity which characterises the several liturgies, with respect to the principal prayers, is such as to enable us to speak of the Jewish ritual as of one work.

"The history of the ritual till lately lay buried beneath a mass of critical difficulties, to remove which has only within the last generation become the task of several of our eminent continental co-religionists, such as Zunz, Rapaport, and others, to whose valuable and conscientious labours we are indebted for information that has greatly facilitated the accomplishment of our undertaking. From their researches it becomes manifest that the Hebrew ritual, before reaching its present form, had undergone great and repeated changes; that some portions, fortunately few in number, considered by many as the genuine remnants of our ancient temple worship, owe their origin to an age of persecution and to a state of suffering and degradation now fast disappearing, and every trace of which

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will by Divine aid speedily be effaced—to the honour of religion, and the common welfare of mankind."

In accordance with the foregoing principles of theological criticism the founders of the new synagogue unanimously sanctioned the curtailment of the old *Sephardic* liturgy in general use, by omitting many portions which are not regarded as prayers. But the revised and curtailed prayer book, is, in substance, matter, and spirit identical with the *Minhag* (מנהג), or custom, which has prevailed for many centuries in the Sephardic Synagogue in all parts of the world.

The ecclesiastical head of the German Jewish community of Great Britain bears the honoured title of Chief Rabbi, not that of "High Priest," a dignity which has often been erroneously assigned to him. The sacred offices of "High Priest" and "Priest" ceased with the destruction of the Holy Temple of Jerusalem by Titus. The Jewish priesthood, whose members are entitled *cohanim* (*cohen* in the singular), still survives in the descendants of Aaron and his family, but neither the priestly office, nor the official designation exists any longer.

The title of the ecclesiastical head of the community of "Spanish and Portuguese" Jews is חכם (*chăchām*), sage or learned man. Since the lamented decease of the last *chăchām*, the Rev. Professor Benjamin Artom, a man remarkably distinguished for his profound learning, his high character, and his elegant and numerous accomplishments, the vacant office has not been filled. At his installation, which took place in 1866, at the ancient Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, he

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preached a very able sermon on *The duties of the Jewish Pastor in the Present Age*, from which I shall hereafter venture to cite a few extracts in order to exemplify the character of a Jewish minister and the religious spirit by which the preacher was moved.

Among the predecessors of the Rev. Rabbi Dr. Artom were Rabbi Dr. David Nieto (1701), and Rabbi Dr. Raphael Meldola, whose venerated memories yet survive in the Sephardic congregations.

The Rev. the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Solomon Herschel, who died a little more than forty years ago, was for many years the ecclesiastical head of the *Ashkenazic* community in Great Britain and Ireland. It is not generally known that he was an Englishman, and born in London, his father being at the time of his birth the Rev. Chief Rabbi of England. He upheld his sacred office with exceptional dignity of conduct and demeanour. He was a man of profound learning, and of a noble presence. His venerable and patriarchal appearance readily recalled in imagination the ancient prophets of Israel. He was a man before whom Alexander the Great might have bent the knee. He had a wonderfully sonorous voice. He was generally, but erroneously, styled by non-Israelites "The High Priest of the Jews."

I cannot withstand the temptation of repeating here the well-known and beautiful incident of Alexander the Great's royal state visit to Jerusalem after, or during the siege of Tyre. When the presence of the illustrious conqueror of Persia was recognised by the inhabitants of the Holy City, the High Priest went

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forth from the gates of Jerusalem to meet him, clothed in his magnificent pontifical robes, crowned with his mitre, and with the *Urim* and *Thumim* on his breast, accompanied by all the priests of the Temple attired in their high ceremonial costume, followed by the chief inhabitants of Jerusalem clad in snow-white vestments. As the splendid procession silently advanced towards Alexander he dismounted from his war-horse and fell prostrate at the feet of the High Priest. On being questioned by Parmenio why he, who was worshipped by the whole world, condescended to worship a Jew, Alexander solemnly replied: "It is not the High Priest that I worship; it is his God! That noble figure, costumed as he is now, appeared to me in a vision at Dios, in Macedonia, and exhorted me to pass on to Asia, and to conquer Persia."

The latter years of the Rev. the Chief Rabbi Herschell's life were much disturbed by the establishment of the new reformed synagogue, which he resolutely refused to sanction or to recognise in any manner. He also condemned every curtailment of the ancient Hebrew liturgy, and every approach to change of any kind. The London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews thereupon "RESOLVED, that the guidance of the community in religious matters shall remain, as heretofore, with the ecclesiastical authorities," viz:—the Rev. the Chief Rabbi and two or more learned Jewish Rabbis called *Dayanim*, or judges, who constitute the *Beth Din*, or College of Learning. Thus the old, so-called, orthodox synagogues remain, as formerly, under ecclesiastical authority, and the West London Synagogue, and other synagogues at Manchester and

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Bradford, whose congregations have adopted their liturgy, remain independent.

Upon the lamented death of the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Solomon Herschel, there were numerous candidates to fill the vacant office; a public announcement of the vacancy having been made by a committee appointed for that purpose, and for declaring the regulations which were to be observed by those who might be desirous of becoming candidates.

There were thirteen applicants for the sacred office, from whom four were selected as having fulfilled in their applications the conditions laid down by the committee. These were—The Rev. Dr. Nathan Marcus Adler, Chief Rabbi of Hanover; The Rev. Dr. Benjamin Auerbach, Chief Rabbi of Darmstadt; The Rev. Dr. Hirsch Hirschfeld, Chief Rabbi of Wollstein; and The Rev. Samson Raphael Hirsch, Chief Rabbi of Emden. In publicly sending forth their printed Report, with the names and testimonials of the respective selected candidates, the committee added the following paragraph: "In conclusion, the committee feel pleasure in observing that so highly satisfactory are the testimonials of the selected candidates, and so high a reputation do these reverend gentlemen respectively enjoy for religion, morality, and learning, that on whomsoever the election may fall there can be no doubt as to the competency of the successful applicant to fulfil his sacred and important duties." *

The election fell upon the Rev. Dr. Nathan Marcus Adler, whose high qualifications for the sacred office of Chief Rabbi of England are set forth in the follow-

* Aug. 5th, 1844.

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ing extracts from the Report, which I have preserved among my literary treasures:—

Rev. NATHAN MARCUS ADLER (ordained by the Rev. Abraham Bing, Chief Rabbi of Würzburg, 27th March, 1828,) DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY—*Diploma from the University of Erlangen, dated 5th June*, 1828; born 11th December, 1802; Chief Rabbi of Oldenburg in 1829; at present Chief Rabbi of Hanover; appointed August, 1830. Testimonials to Dr. Adler's Biblical knowledge and attainments, to his having studied, in addition to Theology and the oriental languages, the ancient classics and the French and English languages; certificates of examination from the university of Würzburg and of attendance at lectures on the following subjects:—1, Logic; 2, Theoretical Philosophy; 3, Practical Philosophy; 4, Political Economy; 5, Oratory; 6, Mathematics; 7, Philology; 8, Grecian Mythology; 9, Universal History; 10, Chaldaic and Syriac languages. Dr. Adler was a son of the late Chief Rabbi of Hanover and nephew of a former Chief Rabbi of England, the Rev. Dr. Solomon David Shiff.

The venerable Chief Rabbi, now in his 80th year, being obliged from age and illness to retire from the active exercise of his responsible and laborious functions, his worthy and talented son, the Rev. Rabbi Dr. Hermann Adler, preacher of the Bayswater Synagogue, has been appointed Delegate Chief Rabbi.

The following extracts from the Installation Sermon of the late lamented Professor Benjamin Artom, will afford information of interest on the momentous subject of the Jewish pastor's mission and clerical duties. The Rev. preacher expressed himself almost overwhelmed with the difficulties with which a Chief Rabbi

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has to contend in the exercise of his solemn vocation in the present century. In ancient times the refuge and comfort of a Jewish pastor "lay in the study of the Law, and the Traditions of the Fathers! In those times every man received a religious education. The head of every household became a teacher of the faith, and every home became a school, and at the head of all was the Spiritual Chief—the teacher of teachers. His mission was truly a holy one; and when to the zeal of faith he added wisdom and learning his task was easy. When he spoke all listened. He was understood and obeyed. Then religion reigned supreme; on her hallowed breast the weary exile rested and was comforted. There he found the peace of mind which was doubly grateful to him since all other peace had fled." "At no former period of their career was it ever more than at present needful for the Jewish people to be well instructed in, and thoroughly acquainted with, the principles and practice of their faith in order to be able to teach them and to defend them. This duty is especially the mission of the minister, who should strain every nerve to expel religious ignorance from the congregation which he guides; and this task has been truly described in the Talmud—'Religious teachers can aspire to no repose.' '"I make thee guardian of the House of Israel" said the Lord to Ezekiel.' Yes, the Pastor should be, in truth, a warder of the holy trust confided to his guardianship. In the homes, in which he should strive to be an ever welcome guest by reason of his sacred calling and of his spotless life—in these homes he should watch these holy interests, and be ever ready to counsel and guide parents of

families in the religious training of their children: he should help them, by his influence, to place their little ones on the righteous path. . . . His education should be such as to train a child to become, at the same time, a good man, a good citizen and a good Jew. But if secular instruction be the sole object of attention, the boy thus taught will become a heartless man—a man cold to all the higher sentiments of our nature—a man who will easily repudiate his faith, his nationality, the past glories, and the future promises of his race!" "From all the treasures of knowledge, but more especially from the mine of history, the religious teacher should bring to light the immortal truths of our faith, and its glorious morality, which is the source of the moral teachings of all later creeds. He will urge the most careful attention to the education of young girls, for it especially depends on woman to render home a hallowed temple."

"Go," said the Lord to Isaiah—"Go, preach! cry out! fear nothing; raise thy voice with a sound loud as the trumpet, and reveal to my people its transgressions, and to the House of Israel its iniquities." . . . "From the Pastor's lips the truth must go forth to his flock, and it is from the pulpit that he has to declare it to the faithful. For if we appreciate the preacher's mission with intelligence and feeling, surely we must feel that it is a solemn hour—that in which he stands amid his silent auditors and utters the message of everlasting truth; teaching men the ordinances of faith, and the precepts of civil life; teaching men their duty to their neighbours, and to the fatherland which is so dear to them; their duty to the sovereign, and the respect due to the laws; teach-

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ing them the rules and precepts which render life happy on earth, and the promises of undying happiness in the world to come." . . . "It is, moreover, the Pastor's duty to superintend all works of public charity, the accomplishment of which will render him 'the father of the orphan, and the protector of the widow.'" "Sad sights and sounds may lacerate his heart, but they shall not keep him from his duty. As he feels no repulsion from the hovel of the indigent, so he shall feel no attraction for the mansion of the wealthy. . . . He shall seek to soften every grief, to wipe away every tear. . . . He must be the friend of every family, of every home; he must seek out the sufferer, if the sufferer does not come to seek him; he must try to discover the hidden source of discord, the concealed injustice and secret wrong, and strive to remedy the evil. He must be ready to give advice and counsel; he must promote good works, and be the living link between the rich and the poor, and thus maintain the vital spirit which has rendered the Jewish character the type of true charity."

Would that all ministers of religion, whether of the Synagogue or the Church, might take this teaching to heart, and learn from the mouth of a Jewish pastor what the holy spirit of Judaism enjoins as the true vocation of a religious minister; and that, instead of fighting over incomprehensible dogmas, and sowing in the hearts of their congregations the seeds of mistrust, doubt, discord, and never-ending religious controversy, they would strive by every means to spread among them peace, harmony, charity, and universal love. That is the real object of Religion; that is the sublime office of her Ministers.

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APPENDIX.

I.

The following Sermon on "The Jew as a Member of the Synagogue, and the Synagogue in its relation to the Community," was preached by the Rev. A. Löwy, Second Minister of the West London Synagogue of British Jews, at the inauguration of the New Synagogue at Bradford, Yorkshire, in March, 1881.

My Brothers and Sisters,—This edifice, which we now are consecrating as a House of God, is destined to be a lasting memorial of the unostentatious zeal which animates many members of our Jewish community. Prompted by such zeal, the worthy minister of this congregation and the energetic founders of this synagogue have earned for themselves the gratitude, it is to be hoped the enduring gratitude, of their Jewish fellow-townsmen, by engaging in the arduous and laborious work which has culminated in the solemn ceremony for the celebration of which we are assembled. Those who now take part in the inaugural rites, and those who will pray in this synagogue in days to come, will behold in this House of God a monumental illustration of the words with which the Psalmist begins the 84th Psalm, words which I have selected for the text of the present discourse. "How lovely are Thy habitations, O Lord of Hosts. My soul longeth and yearneth for the courts of the Lord; my soul and my mortal self shall sing for joy before the living God!" Faithful de-

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votedness to the religion of our fathers has laid the foundation of this house of prayer; earnestness of purpose—the great characteristic of our race—has completed the structure; unpretending simplicity of taste has adorned the interior, and now the portals are opened for the devout, the earnest, the modest, the submissive, followers of our ancient precepts which are hallowed by their own intrinsic worth, by their intelligibleness, their simplicity, their adaptation to all the phases and stages of human experience. On entering to-day for the performance of the inaugural public service, the Israelite acknowledges that a new era of religious promise is dawning upon his position in the community.

Two groups of reflections present themselves to our consideration. We consider first, the place of the Jew as a worshipper in the House of God. Next, the position which this synagogue must hold amongst sister synagogues and amidst the wider circle in the family of man.

Let us begin with the connection of the Jew with his synagogue. There are not wanting the thoughtful and the pious-minded heads and members of families who will thoroughly comprehend the inspiring words of the Psalmist: "The sparrow has found a house and the swallow a nest for herself in which she places her young; I have found Thine altars, O Lord, my King and my God." They, whether in young days or in advanced years, shall be lead into this house of prayer through their own pious disposition, through the loyal example which the living set unto the living, through that love which the children of our people always have paid and ever will pay to parents living amongst them, or to parents sleeping the sleep of death and resting in the bosom of the Almighty. Into this House of God will be called the younger portion of the community, to be protected against blighting and withering

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materialism, by which all moral innocency and all purity of condition are sacrificed unto the Moloch of gross selfishness. Here in the synagogue the rising generation shall prove and avow that by the side of progress, in the knowledge of arts and sciences, by the side of efforts for procuring the artificial comforts of life, the heart can acquire refinement and consolation; it can acquire a natural state of comfort, which is "more precious than gold, and than much fine gold." Here in the synagogue the Israelite will have opportunities for religious self-culture, which lifts man away from degrading occupations, and makes him the heroic conqueror and subduer of life-consuming passions. Here the Jew and the Jewess will draw from the sources of Divine blessings when the bridegroom will present himself with the bride before the ark of the Holy Law to sanctify life unto life, and to make in the synagogue the sacred vow for the life-long union of hearts. Into this holy house will come the affectionate mother to invoke blessings without end for her tender little offspring, for her child to whom she so cheerfully sacrifices the freshness, the bloom, the vigour of her days, in the fond hope that the beloved child shall be lead along the sunny path of a reproachless career. Into this sacred house the severely tried and afflicted suppliant will take refuge when sorrow and distress fall sorely on the heavy heart, and here religion will always hold out the soothing Scriptural advice, "Cast thy burden upon the Lord and He will sustain thee." Into this house of Divine consolation will come, in the inevitable times of mourning, the bereaved son and daughter, the sorrowing father, mother, brother, sister, and friend, to fathom the depth of that undaunted faith which is breathed forth in the words, "Although I walk in the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me; Thy staff and Thy support they shall comfort me."

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(Ps. xxiii.) Here the faithful shepherd will lead his flock in the path of righteousness, and in these sacred precincts he will cause the voice of religion to be heard "powerfully and majestically." In the Temple of God the Israelite will offer the free-will offerings of his devotion and submission to the glorious Creator of man.

We now have to consider the second theme, the position which the local Jewish community, or rather this synagogue, has to take amongst other synagogues. In this relation the religious institution maintains and establishes peace—a wisely consolidated peace—amongst its members and their fellow-believers. The synagogue proclaims unchangeableness in those principles and those commandments which, in the earliest days of our religion, were engraven on the Tablets of the Law, and which, during the process of thousands of years, have been engraven on the tablets of the hearts of all Israel. The synagogue publicly proclaims the inviolability of those Mosaic laws and precepts which were retained during Israel's dispersion by the millions of Jews who accepted the Law of Moses as the solid foundation of Judaism. It is a rule, sanctioned by every congregation which vests its ministers with authoritative functions, that our public observances shall be of such a character as to edify the conscientious and cultivated Israelite, and that all our customs and usages shall be of such a nature as to strengthen and uphold a deep Jewish sentiment of religion; and there never will exist a rancorous feeling so long as each congregation will studiously and consistently adhere to those great and essential precepts that are dictated by Divine wisdom, and that are accepted by the Israelite for his own spiritual advancement, and for his children's advancement in virtue and in happiness—perpetual precepts which are entirely independent of temporary usages that

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have arisen in one age and been modified in another. Concerning such essential precepts of Judaism we retain in our Ritual the all-important lesson recorded by the Psalmist: "Remember his covenant for ever, the word which He commanded unto a thousand generations, the covenant which he made with Abraham." This venerable injunction is crowned by that national exhortation which has become the password of the Israelite in this life and from life unto death by the great exhortation, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One." Such teachings will in this synagogue be developed in their completeness from Sabbath unto Sabbath; and you will find that in these teachings there can be no pause, no stand-still, for it remains the great aim and object of the Jewish synagogue to hand down from age to age the traditions of Judaism in their venerable purity. These teachings will feed and fan the fiery zeal of this congregation, whose members will be kept mindful of the truth that by consistency and by unwavering determination they are to continue to be true to the duties they owe to their community, true to the duties they owe to their fellow-citizens, to their country, to their government, to their position as the inheritors of the undying precepts of morality and brotherly love. These teachings shall take deep root in your lives and in every action which shall distinguish you as true and useful members of the community. They shall induce you to maintain your synagogue in all its efficiency. They shall induce you to rid your synagogue of a penurious and struggling condition. No debt should encumber a house of worship; no pecuniary difficulties should be permitted at the outset to cripple the work of a Jewish house of worship. Indeed, we have in this respect to look beyond mere local circumstances. It is one of the misfortunes of our modern age that our several congregations do not com-

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bine with each other, thoughtfully and sympathetically, in all communal benefactions, so as to lift the poorest of Jewish congregations in the provincial towns from a state of decay, of helplessness, of an inability to find and remunerate competent teachers of the Jewish religion. Hence it happens that in many poor Jewish congregations the lament of the ancient prophet may still be remembered, "On this account my people is the captive of wretchedness : it is left without religious knowledge." Oh that this warning, here publicly uttered, might reach the minds and the hearts and the good-will of many faithful and truly active members of the community, and that there would be devised and introduced a proper system by which the Jew will learn to take a large-minded and large-hearted interest in the religious education and in the general well-being of the indigent and the untaught classes of our people. Let charity, as the conflux of so many Jewish virtues, be practised by the members of a united community. Let our co-religionists, in their provisions for religious education, make a common effort with each other, and then the Jewish worshippers entering the synagogue will fervently join the Psalmist in proclaiming, "How lovely are Thy habitations, O Lord, God of Hosts."

The Dedication Prayer delivered at the consecration of the New Synagogue at Bradford, Yorkshire, by its minister, the Rev. Rabbi, Dr. Strauss, Ph. D.

"Almighty and Eternal God ! Creator and Ruler of all. The whole universe is Thy temple, the heaven Thy throne, and the earth Thy footstool. Still from the time Thou didst choose the people of Israel to be the flock of Thy pasture, Thou didst set apart a place where we should acknowledge Thy walkings in holiness ; where we should

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offer up our adoration unto Thee, and pour out our supplications before Thee—a place where we, separated from all worldly occupations, might meet Thee, and remember our afflictions and our joys, our holiness and our glory. Thou didst inspire us with a just desire to possess a sanctuary. There now stands the House of God, reared up in all its glory, beauty, and strength. Feelings of fervent joy and gratitude pervade us, that Thou, O Lord, hast enabled us to complete this Tabernacle so successfully under Thy protection. And we are now assembled to invoke Thy blessings, O Eternal Father, for this sacred edifice. We dedicate on this solemn occasion this house to Thee, O God, and consecrate it to Thy service. Grant that the worshippers, penetrated by the awe of Thy presence dwelling in this Thy sanctuary, will enter it and approach Thee with true devotion, fervour, and earnestness; will turn unto Thee with sincere penitence, cast themselves into Thine arms, weep in times of sorrow on Thy bosom, and thank Thee in times of joy for Thy mercies. Inspire our brethren with a longing for the courts of their Lord, that they and their families may come to this synagogue and worship Thee with fervency and in purity of heart. Stir up their hearts to bring offerings to Thy Tabernacle. Let them remember that when they come nigh unto Thy house, they must come nearer to Thee, O God, nearer to Thy covenant; that their whole life may correspond with their prayers, that they may be warm in the fulfilment of Thy precepts, and zealous in the accomplishment of noble deeds, of humane works. Grant that this new house of worship may be a strong link in the chain that binds our brethren together in unity, and let it also be a means to bring near to Thee those of our brethren in this town that stand aside yet from Thee, the God of their fathers. Let Thy light and love enter their hearts, that they may come to this

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sanctuary and worship Thee in the midst of their brethren. Let Thy choicest blessings descend on all those who have assisted us in promoting this sacred work; shower the dew of Thy blessing on all the inhabitants of this our beloved town; grant peace, happiness, and prosperity to this great country and to all mankind. Hasten the time when nations shall learn to war no more—when their swords will be turned into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks. Blot out from the earth all oppression and injustice, so that all the universe will be a great united Temple of Faith, Peace, Love, and Truth. Amen."

II.

The following Catalogue of SERMONS AND LECTURES *by Jewish Authors may, it is hoped, prove useful to those who would seek for information relating to Jews and their religion.*

1. A COURSE OF SERMONS "On the Biblical Passages adduced by Christian Theologians in Support of the Dogmas of their Faith." Preached in the Bayswater Synagogue by The Rev. Dr. HERMANN ADLER, M.A.

2. A DISCOURSE on "THE PASSOVER." Preached in the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue by The Rev. Dr. L. LOEWE, M.R.A.S., &c.

3. A DISCOURSE on "THE PENTECOST." Preached in the Great Synagogue of the "German Jews" by The Rev. Dr. L. LOEWE, M.R.A.S., &c.

4. A DISCOURSE, preached in the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, on the Day of Burial of H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, by The Rev. Dr. L. LOEWE, M.R.A.S., &c.

5. ARGUMENTATIVE AND DEVOTIONAL SERMONS on "The Jewish Religion." Preached at the Synagogue,

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Mikveh-Israel, Philadelphia, U.S., by The Rev. ISAAC LEESER, between the years 1829 and 1841. In three volumes.

6. "TWENTY-FOUR SERMONS preached, on various occasions, at the West London Synagogue of British Jews," by The Rev. Professor D. W. MARKS. First Series.

7. SERMONS *preached* on various occasions at the West London Synagogue of British Jews," by the REV. PROFESSOR D. W. MARKS. Second Series.

8. A SERMON on "The Second days of the Jewish Festivals" by the Rev. DR. NATHAN MARCUS ADLER, Chief Rabbi of England.

9. A SERMON on "The Duties of the Jewish Pastor in the Present Age," preached at the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue by the REV. PROFESSOR B. ARTOM on the occasion of his installation as *Chăchām* or Ecclesiastical Head of the Sephardim community in England. 1866.

10. SERMONS preached at several London synagogues by the REV. PROFESSOR B. ARTOM, *Chăchām* of the Sephardim community of Jews in England. Second Edition.

11. "THE DEVELOPEMENT OF THE RELIGIOUS IDEA IN JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY AND MAHOMEDANISM." TWELVE LECTURES on the History and Purport of Judaism, delivered in Magdeburg in 1847 by the REV. DR. LUDWIG PHILIPPSON, Phil.D. Translated from the German by ANNA MARIA GOLDSMID.

12. "TWELVE SERMONS" by the REV. DR. GOTTHOLD SALOMON. Preached in the New Temple of the Israelites at Hamburg. Translated from the German, with a preface by ANNA MARIA GOLDSMID. 1839.

13. "THE INQUISITION AND JUDAISM." A Sermon addressed to Jewish Martyrs, on the occasion of an *Auto da Fé* at Lisbon in 1705, by the Archbishop of Cranganor,

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together with A REPLY to the Sermon by Carlos Vero. Translated from the Spanish by MOSES MOCATTA.

14. "JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY." A REPLY to a series of Lectures on this subject, delivered at St. George's Hall, in 1877 by the Rev. Professor Cairns, D.D.; The Rev. Canon Cook, M.A.; The Rev. Professor Leathes; The Right Rev. Bishop Claughton, D.D.; The Rev. Donald Fraser, D.D.; The Rev. Professor Birks, M.A.; by DR. ABRAHAM BENISCH, Phil.D. with an APPENDIX containing a review of the articles, in the *Contemporary Review*, on "The Trial of Jesus Christ," by Alexander Taylor Innes.

15. "THE CRUCIFIXION AND THE JEWS." AN ESSAY by the REV. DR. LUDWIG PHILIPPSON. Translated by Maurice Mayer, of the New York Bar, with a Preface by the Rev. Isaac Leeser. Philadelphia, 1866.

16. "THE JEWS OF MODERN TIMES." Two Lectures delivered at the Philosophical Institute, Edinburgh, by the Rev. Professor D. W. MARKS. 1871.

17. JUDAISM SURVEYED, being a Sketch of THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF JUDAISM, from Moses to our Days. A Series of FIVE LECTURES delivered in St. George's Hall, by Dr. ABRAHAM BENISCH, Ph.D. 1874.

III.

A list of some of the Chief Jewish Clergy actually engaged in the Synagogue Service in the Metropolis and in the Provinces.

The Rev. Dr. NATHAN MARCUS ADLER, Ph.D., CHIEF RABBI OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

The Rev. Dr. HERMANN ADLER, B.A., Un. Lon.; M.A., Ph.D., Un. Leipzig: DELEGATE CHIEF RABBI. Un. Lon.

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(1854-59), Highest Prizes in Greek and English; Phil. Mind; Logic; Moral Phil.; Hist. of Phil., Un. Lon. (1856) Honours in Classics; B.A. (1859); Honours in German; Eng. Language and Literature; Classics; Ordained Rabbi by the Rev. Chief Rabbi, Dr. Rapaport (1863); Theological tutor, Jews' Coll., Lond.; appointed Chief Minister of the Bayswater Synagogue (1864); Delegate Chief Rabb (1871).

The Rev. Professor D. W. MARKS, Prof. Heb. Un. Lon.; late Dean of the London University; Chief Minister of the West London Synagogue of British Jews (1842).

The Rev. A. LÖWY, Minister of the West London Synagogue of British Jews (1842); Secretary of the Anglo-Jewish Association; Editor of the Works published by the Society of Hebrew Literature.

The Rev. A. L. GREEN, Chief Minister of the Central Synagogue.

The Rev. S. SINGER, Minister of the New West-End Synagogue.

The Rev. S. M. GOLLANCZ, Preacher to the New Synagogue, St. Helen's, E.C.

The Rev. ISIDORE HARRIS, B.A., Un. Lon.; Junior Minister of the West London Synagogue of British Jews (1881).

The Rev. A. P. MENDEZ, Preacher to the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Bevis Marks.

The Rev. B. A. ASCHER, Acting Minister for the United Synagogues.

The Rev. B. BERLINER, Minister of St. John's Wood Synagogue.

The Rev. BENJAMIN SPIERS (*Dayan*), Assistant Rabbi, London.

The Rev. D. PIZA, Minister of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Bevis Marks.

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The Rev. J. GOULDSTEIN, Minister of the North London Synagogue.

The Rev. J. A. SIMMONS, Minister of the Brixton Synagogue.

The Rev. M. HAST, Minister of the Great Synagogue.

The Rev. J. PIPERNO, Minister of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue—West End Branch.

The Rev. M. KEIZER, Second Minister of the Great Synagogue.

The Rev. ISAAC SAMUEL, Minister of the Bayswater Synagogue.

The Rev. — HYAMSON, Jews' College (not attached to any Synagogue).

The Rev. SIMCHA HARRIS, Head Master of the Jews' Hospital, Lower Norwood.

The Rev. MORRIS JOSEPH, B.A., Un. Lon.; Chief Minister of the Liverpool Old Congregation.

The Rev. JOSEPH POLACK, B.A., Minister of the Liverpool Old Congregation.

The Rev. G. J. EMMANUEL, B.A., Un. Lon.; Chief Minister of the Birmingham Hebrew Congregation.

The Rev. Dr. G. STRAUSS, Ph.D., Rabbi, Minister of the Synagogue, Bradford, Yorkshire.

The Rev. L. M. SIMMONS, B.A., Minister of the Synagogue of British Jews, Manchester.

The Rev. J. H. VALENTINE, Minister of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Manchester.

The Rev. Dr. L. LOEWE, Ph.D., President of the Montefiore College, Ramsgate; Fellow of the Royal College of Preceptors.

The Rev. Dr. SALOMON, Ph.D., Minister of the Great Synagogue, Manchester.

The Rev. P. PHILLIPS, Minister of the Glasgow Hebrew Congregation.

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The Rev. Dr. STERN, Ph.D., Minister of the New Hebrew Congregation, Liverpool.

The Rev. DAVID FAY, Minister of the Hebrew Congregation, Bristol.

The Rev. Dr. JOSEPH ABRAHAMS, Ph.D. (Not attached to any Synagogue.)

The Rev. J. J. MAUENBERGER. (Not attached to any Synagogue.)

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No. V.

JEWISH CONVERSION.

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"REMEMBER YE THE LAW OF MOSES MY SERVANT, WHICH I COMMANDED UNTO HIM IN HOREB FOR ALL ISRAEL, WITH THE STATUTES AND JUDGMENTS." *Malachi* iv. 4.

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No. V.

JEWISH CONVERSION.

I.

THE irrepressible Conversionists would appear to be as persistent as ever in their fruitless attempts to induce Jews to exchange Judaism for Christianity; and so long as they can succeed in collecting from the pockets of well-meaning but deluded Christian enthusiasts for Jewish conversion, the annual revenue of forty or fifty thousand pounds required to support the active operations of their societies, it would be unreasonable to expect that they will willingly retire from an established profession which furnishes profitable occupation to a numerous staff of missionaries, secretaries, clerks, printers, and other persons, both at home and abroad. Although Jews may, in these days, well afford to treat their vain efforts with silent indifference, if not with disdain, yet they owe it to their ancient religion, to the memory of their ancestors, to their unparalleled history, to themselves, as free intelligent beings, and also to their children, and, moreover, to the important position which they now happily occupy in this country and elsewhere, not to suffer any further offensive interference with their religion. Jews must now teach

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all intrusive conversionists, who may be amenable to reason, that every endeavour to force upon them a religion which they have steadily repudiated through countless ages of martyrdom, will no longer be tolerated. Their arrogant pretensions must, in these days of religious freedom, be met with becoming boldness: they must be powerfully counteracted, and, if possible, paralysed.

The "London Society for promoting Christianity among Jews," whose annual revenue in 1823 was about ten thousand pounds, had already distributed, in the first six years of its institution, seventy thousand tracts; and, with boundless confidence, it had gratuitously presented to Jews, with a view to their conversion, not less than eight thousand New Testaments. As the fruitful results of these extensive operations they had made, according to their own Report,* *six proselytes annually*, amongst which were found many boys and girls taken from the lowest Jewish class. I believe it will be found, upon a fair calculation, that, in the present day, Jewish "converts" are not less expensive.

In the days of chivalry, religious conferences sometimes took place in public, in the hope of converting the Jews to Christianity. A kind of theological tournament was held, to which Christian Abbots and learned Jewish Rabbins were invited. Duly marshalled, they entered the lists, and boldly and fearlessly encountered each other with tilting-lances pointed with polemical argument. Crowds of Christian auditors, entirely ignorant of the moot-points

* *Jewish Repository*, Vol. II., p. 304.

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under discussion, as well as crowds of Jews, were wont to give loud expression to their approval or dissent, according as their respective champions seemed to triumph or to suffer defeat. The Christian combatants always claimed the victory, as their opponents, being disinclined from sad experience to arouse fanatical animosity, deemed it the better part of valour not to dispute their claim. A curious picture of these barbarous times is furnished by Joinville, an ancient chronicler of France, who narrates, in quaint language, an anecdote illustrative of the rough and ready manner in which polemical discussions were then carried on.

In the 13th century, an old abbot of the Monastery of Cluny met at a polemical conference an ancient learned Rabbi. He had expended upon him nearly all his theological ammunition without having produced any apparent effect whatever upon his erudite antagonist; and the attention of the auditors naturally began to flag. An ancient knight, who had been leaning on his staff watching the course of the discussion with evident interest, began to lose his patience, and begged permission of the abbot to advance an argument which he felt convinced would at once end the controversy. The abbot having become somewhat weary of the arguments of the still unconvinced Israelite acceded to the knight's proposition. The ancient warrior was concise! "Are you," asked he of the Rabbi, "a believer in Christianity?" "No!" curtly replied the Rabbi,—"that is the very subject of our contention." "Then," exclaimed the knight furiously, "you are mad, and also insolent; since

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you dare to come to a monastery of Christ. For this you shall know him, and shall lack no remembrance of him." So saying, the stout Christian knight raised his staff, and felled the bold Rabbi to the ground with a tremendous blow under his ear. This forcible mode of argument immediately put to flight all the Jewish portion of the auditors. The abbot was thereupon very angry with the knight, who, he said, had lost him a great victory; insisting that the Rabbi was just upon the very point of being converted by his last irresistible argument when he was so cruelly interrupted.

This story was told to St. Louis, the then King of France, who indirectly intimated that the knight, not being a learned scholar, had done wrong in attempting to refute the Jew, but that he had done quite right in knocking him down! Many and various polemical conferences have since been held both in ancient and modern times, but with as little chance of converting Jews. Professorships were instituted in vain for the like purpose in France, Germany, and Italy. Jews in Rome were forced to listen to courses of lectures which it was hoped would have the effect of convincing them of their errors; but they remained most provokingly unconverted. In more modern times great and continuous efforts have been exerted to promote Christianity among Jews, but they have all signally failed.

II.

In relation to Jewish conversion in Great Britain Christians may be conveniently divided into three

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large and distinct classes. The first class comprises those who approach Jews openly, honestly, and conscientiously, face to face in a truly religious spirit, as it is desirable and just that one religious community should meet another: on that broad basis of pure and simple religion; upon that wide tract of neutral spiritual territory where the zealous adherents of all religions may assemble in peace, amity, and fraternal and sisterly love, with a mutual tacit understanding to seek for points of religious agreement rather than for seeds of dissension. Among this worthy class I have through a very long professional career enjoyed the happiness of friendly and most intimate intercourse with many most sincere, most loving, and loveable Christians, without any attempt ever having been made on either's part to disturb the other's cherished religious opinions. I can conscientiously say, with the illustrious Moses Mendelssohn, in his reply to John Caspar Lavater; "I am so fortunate as to count amongst my friends many worthy men who are not of my faith. We love each other sincerely, notwithstanding that in matters of religious belief we differ widely in opinion. I enjoy the delight of their society, which both improves and solaces me. Never has my heart whispered, Alas! for this excellent man's soul!"

"Behold how good, and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" and to love their neighbours as they themselves would wish to be loved. "Have we not all One Father? Has not One God created us all?"

Among the second class of Christians are comprised

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those who, without appearing to desire our conversion, affect to love us with an overpowering spiritual affection, who profess to "take great interest in the Jews," in a patronising spirit; who are unceasingly anxious about the actual condition, and the future salvation of our souls, of which they presume to think we ourselves are culpably indifferent. These meddlesome Christians lose no opportunity of suggesting to us texts from Scripture—often disjoined from their contexts, notably from the writings of our own inspired prophets, with which, with unaccountable perversity of disposition, they take for granted we are unacquainted, and which, with almost amusing presumption, they would appear to suppose they are presenting to our notice for the first time. They are wont to ask questions with respect to controverted points which would seem to them to be unanswerable, with the vague idea of confusing us; of insinuating doubts in regard to what they have been accustomed to consider Scriptural "difficulties," with the aim of unsettling, if possible, our long established religious convictions, and of proving thereby how very wrong *we* are, and how very right *they* are! The same class of Christians are pleased to flatter us by the generous expression of their unbounded admiration for the religious constancy we have for ages exhibited, while they do not hesitate to urge upon us sophistical arguments in order to render us inconstant. They manifest ignorance of the fact that there is not an argument against the correctness of Jewish Scriptural interpretations which has not been repeatedly answered, *ad nauseam*, by the most learned

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Hebrew authorities of all countries, alike ancient and modern, to the satisfaction of themselves, and no less to the impartial judgment of many erudite Christian theologians of the Past and Present. Amateur-conversionists—so to speak, are little aware how weary Jews have become of religious disputations. They have ever been powerful in arguments in defence of their sacred faith, and have never exhibited deficiency of polemical strength, for they have always considered their religious position to be impregnable. Jews now feel, however, that they have had enough of religious contentions, and that it is time they should cease; and they are therefore indisposed to re-open, and to re-consider religious questions, which, however open to controversy, have been long since answered by their own theologians to their own satisfaction.

In the third class of Christians are included those who openly avow their wish and intention to transform Jews into Christians, *nolens volens*, by any means which they may legally employ; who stupidly accuse Jews of blindness and obduracy in not abandoning the sublime religion of their historic ancestors; a religion not of yesterday,—the religion of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; of Joseph, Moses, and Joshua; of David, Elijah, and Isaiah. The religion of Judas Maccabeus! The religion of Jesus Christ!

It may be enquired by what presumed right do Christians intrude their opinions offensively upon such a religious people as the Jews? They admit no such right. If Christians claim the right, they must, by parity of reasoning, and in common justice, concede the same to Jews. Jews claim to be on a perfect equality with

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Christians. Such terms as "toleration" and "liberality," applied to religion are very offensive, since they imply a claim to superiority on the part of those who would presume to "tolerate." The professional conversionists—so to speak—who, with candour and confidence, inform Jews that, unless they implicitly believe as Christians believe, they being, of course, infallible, Jews will be irrevocably sentenced to eternal damnation in this world, as well as in the next, exhibit, at least, the courage of their convictions. By unmasking their spiritual batteries, and firing direct upon Jews their whole artillery of argument, and by further declaring war *à l'outrance*, they, at any rate, afford their opponents the opportunity of doing likewise. This class of conversionists is of the material of which the Spanish Inquisitors of the 15th Century were formed. In the dark ages, and even much more recently, they would, without any scruples of conscience, have employed many unpleasant physical "agencies" to effect their aggressive purpose. "No doubt," according to Il Padre Curci, "the soul ought to be of more account than the body; but the soul is man's exclusive, absolute, intangible, own possession. The Law deals with men's acts; it cannot reach their conscience. It leaves the conscience to God!" * How much human suffering would have been spared had this glorious and veritable doctrine been earlier promulgated! Is it not astonishing that fallible men should ever have dared to torture and destroy the bodies of their fellow men in order to ensure safety for their souls? Experience must have

* Il Padre Curci *On Religious Interference.*

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repeatedly proved to them that it was not only a cruel but a useless operation. Did they never recognise the evident fact that a man has no control over his belief? that he either believes or disbelieves; and that the dislocation of his joints, and the roasting of his body, were positively the very worst kind of arguments that could have been advanced to convince the disbeliever of a religion of its claims to mercy, charity, and godliness. As a matter of fact they never had any converting influence whatever upon Roman Catholics, or Protestants, or Jews, upon whom, in turn, those potent arguments were tried. What lesson should be learned by modern conversionists from these patent historical facts, but that it was, and is an unpardonable, arrogant assumption of power by fallible man to interfere with the conscientious religious convictions of his fellow man? "God has given to each of us," says a Protestant Christian writer, "His inspired word, and a rational mind to which that word is addressed. He has also made known to us, that each for himself must answer at His tribunal for his principles and conduct. What man, then, or body of men, has a right to tell me, 'You do not think aright on religious subjects, but we will tolerate your error?' The answer is a most obvious one: 'Who gave you the authority to dictate? Or what exclusive claim have you to infallibility? If my opinions do not lead me into conduct inconsistent with the welfare of my fellow creatures, the question as to their accuracy or fallacy is one between God and my own conscience; and though a fair subject for argument is none for compulsion.'" *

* Duncan's *Travels*, Vol. II., pp. 330—328.

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Having, in the foregoing citations, given the opinion of a Christian Catholic, and also of a Protestant writer on the subject of religious interference, I now turn to that of a Jewish philosopher.

"And moreover," says Moses Mendelssohn, "a jurisdiction over opinions, over our fellow-men's views of immutable and necessary truths! What man, what society of men dare to arrogate it? As those opinions do not immediately depend on our will, the only right that belongs to ourselves is the right of examining them, of putting them to the rigid test of reason, and suspending our judgment until it has decided, and so on. Foregoing one's opinion so as not to act thereon is one thing; and giving up one's opinion itself another. Acting rests immediately with our will and pleasure, opinion does not." *

"What a world of bliss we should live in did all men adopt and practise the true principles which the best among the Christians, and the best among the Jews have in common." †

III.

Why are these converting Christians so very desirous of converting Jews to the belief in the divine mission of Jesus Christ? Why do they desire that Jews should declare themselves Christians? With what view do they squander their thousands annually in order to arrive at this grand result? Why does the Jews' continued belief in Judaism give Christians so

* Mendelssohn's *Jerusalem*, Vol. I., p. 107.

† Moses Mendelssohn's Reply to Charles Bonnet.

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much concern? Why do they insist that they are "blind and obstinate," and fail to see that it is *they* themselves who are "blind and obstinate"? Why cannot their painful restlessness cease? When the Christian reads the history of the Jews from the 1st to the 19th century, written in tears and blood, their bold resistance of conversion, and their unswerving constancy to the religion God Himself gave them from Mount Sinai, how can he still entertain any hopes that the Jews will *ever* become Christians? Why are they not at last amenable to common sense and the experience of ages? and why do they not allow the Jews to follow their religion in peace? In fine, why do they not leave them alone?

Does any sane man or woman believe that it is really for love of the Jews? Does any rational being imagine that the Christians would give themselves so much anxiety and trouble, squander so much money, and occupy so much valuable time in their endeavour to ensure the salvation of Jewish souls? Might they not employ their time and money to more advantage in trying to save the souls of many who, although born of Christian parents, yet refuse to accept Christianity?

Failing the conversion of the Jews to Christianity, and their full acknowledgment of Jesus Christ as the Son of God, as the Almighty Father, and Creator of the Universe, as the Saviour and Redeemer of the world, and as the Messiah promised to them by God's inspired Prophets, the Christian system, according to the Very Rev. Dr. Bickersteth, Dean of Lichfield, remains imperfect and incomplete. "And when we

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remember," he says, "how every thing that is most glorious in the future of the Church is connected with their conversion, it seems to me that we ought to leave no agencies untried by which this great consummation may be hastened."* Alas! for the "most glorious future of the Church" if it be dependent upon the conversion of the Jews to Christianity!

We have here a distinct avowal from a dignitary of the Established Church of England that it is in reality for the Christians themselves that they manifest so impatient an anxiety to convert the Jews to their faith. We have here a modern appeal to religious passion which readily recalls the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, in whose cruel reign was instituted the Spanish Inquisition for the salvation of Jewish souls. Every "agency" that the Arch-tormentor—Torquemada—could devise was then tried upon the unhappy Jews of Spain and Portugal. All that the cruel ingenuity of man could invent has been practised, both by Catholic and Protestant Christians, during a period of nearly nineteen hundred years, to "hasten the great consummation;" but it remains as far off as ever. Not only have been practised upon the Jews of all nations the "agencies" of fire and water, famine and the sword; and mental torture in every form; but the milder, and more insinuating "agencies" of sophistry, cajolery, and bribes of every kind. They have all been heroically resisted; and the Jews, as Jews, not only exist in greater numbers than ever in every part of the globe, but actually hold a very considerable position among every nation

* Letter to the *Standard*, on *Parochial Missions to the Jews*, August 1, 1877.

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that may be regarded as civilized. They are besides, wonderful to relate, more prosperous, more influential, and more distinguished than they ever were!

Should not these startling facts prove to the conversionists how vain, how futile are their attempts to disturb the constancy of such a wonderful people? Should they not make them pause in their worthless efforts, and reflect thus:—"Surely this is a marvellous nation! The vitality of a religion which has endured through ages of frightful persecution, of inhuman cruelty; which has defied inquisitions, tortures, oppressive and exclusive laws; which is yet the guiding star of millions scattered throughout the five portions of the world, is impossible of extinction. It must be upheld by God, its Omniscient Author! Let us not seek to destroy it; for, after all, we are but frail human creatures: we are not infallible, and we ourselves may possibly be in the wrong."

The Jewish religion is acknowledged to be the stem upon which Christianity has been engrafted. The Old Testament is the foundation, the New Testament the superstructure. "We ought not to forget," said the Bishop of Chichester, "that the Jews are the elder brothers of the Christians, and that Judaism was the spring and source from which Christianity arose."*

Jews require not Christianity! Judaism is all-sufficient for them. Whatever of good exists in Christianity is derived from, and is to be found in, Judaism. Without the Judaism which Christianity has embodied, Christianity, as a distinctive form of religion, could not stand; for wherever it has departed

* Speech in the House of Lords, 1833, on the Jews' Disabilities Bill.

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from its strictly Jewish element it has been a miserable source of discord and perplexity.

Jews can dispense with the superstructure; Christianity cannot stand unsupported by its foundation. The Christian religion is therefore dependent upon Judaism, which comprises every rational religious doctrine, every source of consolation, every law to govern human nature, every teaching of love, and mercy, and charity, which may ensure the happiness of mankind in this world of probation for an everlasting life hereafter. What more can Christianity offer to Judaism than what she already possesses? It has been asked—"What is there in your best and purest hopes that Christianity would disappoint if you accepted it?" I would reply by a question. What is there in our "best and purest hopes" that Judaism is insufficient to supply? It has also been asked "What then can there be to indispose the mind of a Jew to-day, clinging to the hopes and promises of his forefathers, to the reception of Christianity?" I would reply:—"The hopes and promises of his forefathers!" Again it has been asked "Can you imagine a higher, or a holier access to God than through His Son, and by His Spirit?" I would answer, emphatically, "YES!" I abstain from quoting Scripture, although many texts at once suggest themselves to my mind, if it were necessary to appeal to them for proof, that we, who have direct access to God Himself, require no intercessor.

Christians should remember that Jews were their teachers, therefore they should respect them; they should respect their laws and their religious constancy.

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They should respect "those who still hold, as dearer than life, the faith and the hopes of their sainted forefathers."

Christians should regard with religious awe the miraculous preservation of the Jews, and the preservation of their religion. They should regard any attempt to disturb Jewish faith as sacrilegious. They should honour Judaism if only because it was the religion of Jesus, whom they claim as the Founder of their own religion.

Addressing the Jews of Manchester, in a conversion-sermon, preached at his Cathedral on the 5th of May, 1875, Bishop Fraser said:—

"Your system has come to an end; the sacred fires on your altars are extinguished; your very priesthood is uncertain; Jerusalem is trodden down, and occupied by strangers; you are scattered and dispersed." But he added with commendable generosity, "Your constancy is admirable!" Yes! we are constant to our religion, notwithstanding that we are dispersed; notwithstanding that our sacred fires are extinguished, and our Temple is destroyed. Can there be a more powerful argument in favour of the eternity and immutability of the Jewish religion—its efficacy for all ages, all circumstances, places, climes, all conditions of human life, than that it *does* exist? that its followers still cling to their holy faith with a tenacity, with a constancy which calls forth, even from one who seeks to make them inconstant, the highest praise? Should not this remarkable fact have made a deep impression upon his mind?

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IV.

The Israelites were the Chosen of God, and they remain the Chosen of God: for the Eternal Omniscient God changes not! He, who could see into the Future, selected them from all the nations, as His Ministers; His Prophets; as the conservators of His Word; the promulgators of Divine Revelation; the teachers of Divine Truth. The Almighty vouchsafed to reveal Himself to them; He gave to them His Laws for the good of the world. They are eternal; without them society could not exist.

"The Law of the Lord is perfect."* The Mosaic Law is "The Law of the Lord." The Israelites were the selected receivers of Divine Revelation; the appointed depositaries of the Holy Scriptures—their trusted guardians. They were the people selected to spread, far and wide among all peoples, the sublime doctrine of the Unity of God. They disobeyed the Commandments of God. Surrounded by idolatrous nations, the ancient Israelites were unfaithful to their exalted mission, and they have, in consequence, suffered all the terrible penalties which, in his last book, Moses predicted would befall them.

Ancient Jewish History records the sacred trusts imposed upon them, their actual misdeeds, and their future punishments. Jews have never claimed for their ancestors freedom from the errors common to humanity. It has always been accepted as a powerful argument in favour of the truth and authenticity of Holy Writ that the authors of the Bible do not describe the

* Psalm xix. 7.

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Patriarchs, the Prophets, and their successors as men wholly free from human failings. They were naturally endowed with human passions, and were, therefore, not proof against the temptations and failings incidental to human nature. They were men in whom God nevertheless confided; they were grand characters, and divinely gifted with a greater amount of inspiration than was possessed by men of the surrounding nations. They were certainly favoured with a more perfect knowledge of God, and of His divine attributes; and they held His high commission to impart that knowledge to others. It will have been remarked by those who have attentively studied, and have reflected upon the ancient history of Israel, that no man or woman ever committed sin in ancient times without receiving an adequate punishment, either immediate or delayed.

That Scripture "difficulties" abound throughout the pages of the Bible is unquestionable. To reconcile contradictory, and apparently, irreconcileable biblical statements has been the life-occupation of many learned theologians. Before any man should presume to censure and condemn the acts of our immortal ancestors whom God vouchsafed to favour with His divine grace and countenance, he should be assured that he possesses the ability to comprehend the manners, the customs and modes of thought of our remote Antiquity, and of the social life, manners and habits of oriental nations generally, and more especially, those of our forefathers. We should bear in remembrance, before we condemn their apparent errors by comparison with our modern ideas of civilization, that they lived in the infancy of the world, and that

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although by God's favour the Israelites of old were enlightened above all the nations in close proximity with them, yet, after all, they lived at a period only semi-civilized. It would be obviously irrational and unjust, therefore, to contrast the moral code of an Antiquity so remote with our own, the result of ages and ages of dearly purchased experience and human civilization and advancement, and to endeavour thus to clear away every vague notion which may happen to tell against the perfect morality and freedom from sin of ancient Israel. It is clearly manifest that the protracted terrible sufferings of the Jewish people have been in fulfilment of the prophecies which Moses enunciated in the last book of the Pentateuch as punishments for the crimes of Judah and Israel; and not, as our adversaries have in vain endeavoured to make us believe, for having rejected Christ and Christianity. What do we find in the 29th Chapter of Deuteronomy?

"Even all nations shall say, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto the land? What meaneth the heat of this great anger? Then men shall say:—'Because they have forsaken the covenant of the Lord God of their fathers which He made with them when He brought them out of the land of Egypt; for they went and served other gods, and worshipped them; gods whom they knew not, and whom He had not given unto them: and the anger of the Lord was kindled against this land, to bring upon it all the curses that are written in this book; and the Lord rooted them out of their land in anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation, and cast them into another land, as it is this day."

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These, the prophecies which foretold the seasons of Israel's punishments, protracted sorrow, tribulation, and adversity, and which have been already fulfilled with astonishing accuracy, are followed by prophecies written by the same hand, which foretold Israel's present and future prosperity, and which, it cannot be doubted, are in actual process of accomplishment.

"And it shall come to pass, when all these things are come upon thee, the blessing and the curse, which I have set before thee, and thou shalt call them to mind among all the nations whither the Lord thy God hath driven thee, and shalt return unto the Lord thy God, and shalt obey His voice according to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thine heart and with all thy soul, that then the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the nations whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee. And the Lord thy God will put all these curses upon thine enemies, and on them that hate thee and persecuted thee. And thou shalt return and obey the voice of the Lord, and do all His commandments which I command thee this day. And the Lord thy God will make thee plenteous in every work of thine hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy land, for good: for the Lord will again rejoice over thee for good, as He rejoiced over thy fathers: if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God to keep His commandments and His statutes which are written in the book of the law, and if thou turn unto the

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Lord thy God with all thine heart and with all thy soul. See I have set before you this day life and good, and death and evil. I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life that both thou and thy seed may live."*

With God's ancient immutable covenant with the Children of Israel in view, how pitifully small, how insignificantly trifling appear the abortive efforts of the conversionists to subvert the evident design of God? Can they not in wisdom perceive that the time has arrived when they should raise the siege of that impregnable fortress, the religion of the Jews? There can be no doubt whatever, that if both Jews and Christians would but carry into practice in their daily life the sublime teachings which abound in the respective codes alike of Judaism and Christianity, and resolve to abstain from further mutual contentions in respect to the correct interpretation of many perplexing dogmas, which it is quite certain will never be solved with universal satisfaction, they would find sure acceptance from the Allwise God, and might be certain of the enjoyment of eternal bliss in the life hereafter. What more should be desired?

"If thou doest well shalt thou not be accepted?" †

"And now Israel, what does the Eternal thy God require of thee, but to fear the Eternal thy God, to walk in all His ways, and to love Him, and to serve the Eternal thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul?" ‡

* Deut. xxx. † Gen. iv. 7. ‡ Deut. x. 12.

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V.

Many Christian theologians, some of whose names may possibly occur to students of Biblical lore, all devout men, and gifted more or less with scriptural scholarship, have, with becoming reverence, subjected to critical examination and comment the Mosaic code, the ancient Jewish records, and the dicta of the Holy Prophets of Israel. They have thus conferred alike upon Jews and Christians an important service. If the former cannot in every instance conscientiously accept as reasonable the interpretations of Christians, they can at least appreciate their theological acumen, their religious zeal, and their honesty of purpose. The opinions of such men are always worthy of consideration, and should always be received with respectful attention. But there is another class of Christian religionists who, being entirely ignorant of the real points at issue, and totally unacquainted with what has been written upon the subject by learned Jewish doctors and philosophers; brimful, moreover, of sectarian prejudices, if not of hate, nevertheless offensively intrude their religious views upon Jews, with much discredit to their own religion and its professors. Before assuming the responsible character of scriptural teacher and interpreter they should qualify themselves for the office by an earnest study of the interpretations and teachings of those whose religion they would indiscreetly assail. I would say to the ignorant commentators, with the late Rev. Sydney Smith: "It is not your ignorance

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I blame, you have no means, perhaps, of acquiring knowledge, the circumstances of your life have not led to it, may have prevented it; but then I must tell you, if you have not had leisure to enquire, you have no right to accuse." No man is obliged to acquire knowledge, but he who has the temerity to enter into the wide area of polemics is bound to make himself thoroughly familiar with the salient points in dispute, and more particularly when he would contend with a people who generally are so learned in Holy Writ as the Jews, and who, with reason, may be justly credited with the possession of a more thorough knowledge of their own inspired writings, their ancient language, and the claims of their own religion than it is possible that any other people can have acquired.

The Jewish religion is revealed in the Pentateuch; it is confirmed in the prophetical writings, and it survives in the descendants of those to whom it was given. This sublime boon was to be preserved by them FOR EVER. In accordance with the divine decree it has been preserved, and will continue to be in the future. In the course of many ages there have been, from a variety of causes, apostates and renegades from the original stock of the patriarchs, as there have been from all religious communities. Some have been too feeble in spirit to bear up against torture and persecution; others have been unable to resist the temptations occasioned by adversity; while many, on the contrary, have been unequal to the task of withstanding the fascinations of prosperity.

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By renouncing Judaism and adopting Christianity, a Jew by descent does not thereby cease to be a Jew; but having yielded up his religious character, he remains a Jew only by race. Of this character he can no more divest himself and his offspring, for at least two generations, than of his characteristic form and features. When religious prejudice ran high against the Jew personally, and against his creed, when every road to honourable public and private advancement was closed against him, and the finger of scorn was pointed at every Hebrew, in every country, however spotless his character and honourable his conduct,—because he refused to abandon the religion of his fathers; when, by abjuring Judaism and embracing Christianity, parliament, the bar, the army and navy, and every liberal profession became at once open to his ambition, and he was received by his Christian countrymen and women with a more than ordinary welcome, it was beyond the moral strength of some few wealthy and ambitious Jews, who sought a public career, and upon whom their religion sat lightly — who valued worldly favour above religious and national constancy, to withstand temptations so powerfully inviting. It was not that they loved Christianity more than Judaism, but that they valued those distinctions which could be obtained only through the portals of Christianity.

Various other powerful influences have occasionally led Jews from their ancient religion, among which may be named matrimony. Very few Jews, if any, have, I apprehend, been really and truly *converted* to Christianity. However that may be, it is certain that

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the great body of the Jewish people, who are spread all over the world, have resisted with persistent firmness every kind of attack upon their religion which, from time to time, has been made upon it, and upon themselves, in their religious capacity.

It would seem that as all previous efforts to induce Jews to forsake their most glorious heritage have signally failed, it occurred to the Right Rev. the Dean of Lichfield, Dr. Bickersteth, to address a letter in the month of August, 1877, to the editor of the *Standard*, in which he urgently advocated sending "Parochial Missions to the Jews" for the purpose of "extending the knowledge of Christianity" among them. He had discovered a more excellent way, by which "the Jew might be approached in a manner less aggressive and more likely to win him, than through the action of a missionary, having no necessary relation to the incumbent of the parish."

The Jew was to be "approached" stealthily, silently, and mildly—not with the acknowledged aggression of former times—by parochial curates, who, with winning wiles, and "a good knowledge of Hebrew, and conversant with the habits of thought and opinion of modern Jews, and possessing other necessary qualifications for the work"—the nature of which was left to the imagination—were, it was presumed, to enter Jewish houses upon the plea of parochial missionary visits, and, by the irresistible power of their new patent improved method of theological discussion, and by the no less irresistible force of their own meek Christian example, to bear down all opposition to their arguments, and to win from their Jewish

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parishioners an unconditional surrender of their religious doctrines and opinions. This was, no doubt, a well-devised, cleverly-planned scheme; but it has been decidedly unsuccessful in effecting the object so much desired. It was confidently assumed that should parochial missionary curates presume to invade the sanctuary of Jewish homes it would not be very difficult to predict the kind of reception they would be likely to meet with. Neither Jewish men nor women, it was believed, would be ensnared by the mild insinuating manners of Christian curates, nor suffer their religious opinions to be trifled with any longer.

I would venture to exhort both Jews and Jewesses not to be tempted either by prosperity or adversity to forsake their glorious religion; to beware more of the temptations of prosperity, which has always been proved to be more dangerous than adversity. Religious faith, it is acknowledged, has always been strengthened by persecution. It is contrary to man's nature to submit to coercion in matters of religious faith. This principle has been strikingly exemplified in Jewish history. The isolation in which the barbarous Christian persecutions of the Middle Ages obliged the Jews to live, was doubtless a powerful element in the preservation of their religion. How was it possible that Jews could be attracted towards a religion which in its daily practice exhibited towards them such inhuman cruelty and barbarism? Jews and Jewesses should be ever ready to defend their religious creed; but they should never obtrude it upon the notice of others. To those who can tho-

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roughly estimate the true spirit of Judaism, its sublime teachings, and the sacred trust which it imposes upon its adherents, it must be considered a blessed boon to Jews, who ought to exhibit its true nature and value by its favourable effects upon their own conduct and character. They must always respect the religious opinions of their Christian neighbours, and claim from them in return an equal amount of regard for their own. They ought at all times to avoid religious controversy; but they should understand the points which have always been in dispute between Jews and Christians, and carefully study the interpretations of controverted texts which learned Jews, both ancient and modern, have given. Should any doubts, or difficulties, or misapprehensions arise in their minds they ought at once to inquire of their own clergy and of other learned Israelites. Controversy has always been proved to be unsatisfactory and unconvincing; a waste of time, and a waste of mental energy.

VI.

In 1787 there appeared, in pamphlet form, five published Letters to the Jews, inviting them to an amicable discussion on the Evidences of Christianity, by Joseph Priestly, LL.D., F.R.S., to which the following "Advertisement" was appended:—"These Letters are printed chiefly to be distributed among the Jews; and if there should appear to be any prospect of their answering the end for which they were composed, they will be translated into Hebrew

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for the use of the learned Jews, in all parts of the world; to engage them, if possible, in an amicable discussion of the subject."

In his first letter, Dr. Priestly addressed his readers in the following manner:—"Children of the stock of Abraham, and heirs of the sure promises of God! Bear, I entreat you, with the serious address of a Christian who reverences your nation; is a believer in its future glory, and is a worshipper of the God of your fathers, without admitting any other to share in the right of divinity with Him."

By at once announcing himself as a Unitarian Christian, Dr. Priestly evidently thought that he would more easily gain the ear of the Jews, who would consequently, and with much less difficulty, fall an easy prey to his arguments. The gage which he thus boldly flung at the feet of the whole Jewish nation, was fearlessly taken up by David Levi, a learned Hebraist, the author of many useful Jewish works—notably a complete *Dissertation on the Jewish Prophecies*, and the English translation of the Jewish Liturgy. In the last century, when the British Jews had not gained an assured position in this country, it was not deemed prudent or expedient for a Jew to defend his own faith; as by doing so he might be led unwittingly to trench upon the religious convictions of his adversary in controversy, and therefore cause considerable public offence.

David Levi, feeling himself strong as a giant in Hebrew knowledge and in religious argument, and powerful in his correct Jewish interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures, published in the same year (1787)

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three letters of 103 pages, also in pamphlet form, addressed to Dr. Priestly, whom, perhaps in derision, he likened to the Philistine giant, Goliath; while he compared himself to David, the young shepherd. He displayed a remarkable fund of theological knowledge, and completely overturned Dr. Priestly's position, while he replied incontrovertibly to his arguments. This aroused the anger of the Unitarian Doctor. He had unexpectedly unearthed, as it were, a champion more valiant than he anticipated. Instead, therefore, of addressing his second Series of Letters direct to his adversary, as in courtesy he ought to have done, he again addressed himself to the Jewish Nation. David Levi replied to them in three more letters addressed to the Doctor; and at the same time he boldly encountered five other correspondents whose religious ire and jealousy he had aroused by his first series of replies. Thus this famous controversy ended, as all religious controversies have always terminated, viz.—with a display of mutual ill-feeling between the parties engaged, and between their supporters.

The correspondence of Dr. Priestly and Mr. David Levi is now extremely rare. It affords valuable scriptural information, from a Jewish point of view, to those who may be interested in the subject; but it unfortunately exhibits too much heated temper and impatience on the part of both polemical combatants.

Since the end of the last century persistent efforts have been made to promote Christianity among Jews. Christians remain, however, uneasy and dissatisfied, while Jews are actually as unconverted as ever.

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VII.

It would appear to be incomprehensible to many Christians that Jews never seek to make proselytes to their creed.

"It has often struck me," writes a Protestant vicar, "as a remarkable fact, that the believers in Judaism do not seek to propagate their faith. Surely truth must be the property of the whole world. People of various views have sought to persuade me to embrace the particular form of belief they have adopted, and I have always regarded this as a proof of their earnestness."

It is true that Jews do not seek to make proselytes, because, among other reasons, Jews do not presume to think that salvation is to be found only in the Jewish religion. It is deemed, therefore, neither necessary nor expedient to propagate their religious creed. According to the authority of the ancient Hebrew Rabbins, all nations who strictly observe the seven precepts of the Sons of Noah, or *Noachides*, will certainly be accepted and blessed by God. These precepts, which constitute what has been termed the Law of Nature, are:—*First:* Not to commit idolatry. *Second:* Not to blaspheme. *Third:* Not to commit incest. *Fourth:* Not to commit murder. *Fifth:* Not to steal. *Sixth:* Not to eat a member of a living creature. *Seventh:* To appoint just and upright judges, in order that justice may be maintained and administered to all men. Those who strictly practise these precepts are called, "The Pious of the nations of the world,"

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and will, no doubt, participate in the bliss of an everlasting life.

My authorities for the foregoing statements are Moses Maimonides, and Moses Mendelssohn.

The latter, in his reply to John Caspar Lavater, in 1769, says:—"Every one knows that there is an internal as well as an external religion; the former includes no other precepts than those of the religion of nature which we are bound to propagate, and of which I endeavour to spread the knowledge to the best of my power. Our external religion, on the contrary, was not designed to be propagated; as its precepts are limited to a particular race, as well as to special times and circumstances. We undoubtedly regard our religion as the best of all religions, because we believe it to be divine. But it does not hence follow that it is absolutely the best. It is the best for us and our posterity. What external religion may be best for other nations I cannot know; but this I believe, that no external religion can be universal. By making proselytes to Judaism, therefore, I should be extending the religion of my ancestors beyond the boundaries originally prescribed for it." "Whoever is not born conformably to our laws has no occasion to live according to them. We alone are bound to acknowledge their authority; and this can give no offence to our neighbours."

Moses Maimonides enunciated the Jewish principle that when a person expressed a desire to become a proselyte to Judaism, strict enquiry should be made as to his antecedents, and his motives. Should no corrupt design be discovered, he was to be thus ques-

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tioned. "What is it that moves thee to become a proselyte to Judaism? Dost thou not know that Israelites at this time are subject to woe; that afflictions are continually coming upon them; and that they are expelled and devoured by all nations?" The strictness of the Mosaic law was then to be pointed out to him; he was to be reminded of the then temporal condition of the Jews, and that in joining himself to a people labouring then under oppression and affliction he was accepting great and uncalled-for responsibilities. It was not with the object of depriving would-be converts to Judaism of the blessings promised to the Jews that the ancient Rabbins dissuaded non-Israelites from embracing the Mosaic Dispensation, but from motives of mercy, charity, and justice to men upon whom the rigid Laws of Moses are not compulsory. As the Israelites of antiquity entered into an everlasting holy covenant, for themselves and their posterity, to obey the Laws of God promulgated by Moses, it is the unanimous opinion of the Jewish fathers that they alone are bound to observe them.

But setting aside the foregoing reasons for not attempting to make proselytes, there are other potent considerations for not doing so. Has it never occurred to those who would venture to advise such a proceeding, what would be the state of public feeling in all countries where Christianity is the dominant religion? Imagine what would be the excitement, anger, indignation, and, perhaps, something more, were our clergy to announce sermons to be preached with the avowed purpose of withdrawing Christians

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from their faith; and if they were to circulate insidiously amongst Christian families papers in advocacy of their own religious opinions, treating with something like scorn and contempt those of their Christian friends and fellow-citizens?

It is not difficult to conceive what an animosity against Jews would be aroused if they were to announce the institution of a "London Society for promoting Judaism among Christians," and to advertise for money-contributions to a fund for defraying the expenses of various Jewish converting establishments, and branch establishments all over the country and the colonies; and for the payment of Jewish missionaries, and other essential functionaries to be employed in attempting to convert Christians to Judaism? It was a strong and effective argument used by many members of both Houses of Parliament, when advocating the claims of British Jews to public appointments and to seats in Parliament, that the Jews are not a proselytising race. It might have been added, that they emphatically condemn alike the principle and the practice of proselytism, under any circumstances, as unjust, unfair, unprofitable, and utterly useless to promote Christianity among the Jews.

"If," wrote Moses Mendelssohn to Lavater, "after so many years of investigation, the decision of my mind had not been completely in favour of my religion, it would infallibly have become known through my public conduct. I do not consider what should rivet me to a religion, to appearance so excessively severe, and so commonly exploded, if I were not convinced in my heart of its truth. Let the result

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of my investigation have been what it may, so soon as I discovered the religion of my fathers *not* to be the true one, I must, of course, have discredited it. Thus you see, Sir, that, but for a sincere conviction of my religion, the result of my theological investigations would have been sealed by a public act of mine; whereas, on the contrary, they have strengthened me in the faith of my fathers. I do not mean to deny that I have detected in my religion human additions and base alloy, which, alas! but too much tarnish its pristine lustre. But where is the friend of truth who can boast of having found *his* religion free from similar corruptions? We all, who go in search of truth, are annoyed by the pestilential vapour of hypocrisy and superstition, and wish we could wipe it off without defacing what is really good and true. Yet of the essentials of my religion I am as firmly, as irrefragably convinced as ever you can be of yours. And I herewith declare, in the presence of the God of truth, your and my Creator and Supporter, by whom you have conjured me in your dedication, that I will adhere to my principles so long as my entire soul does not assume another nature. We must finish certain enquiries once in our life, if we wish to proceed further. This, I may say, I had done, with regard to religion, several years ago. I read, compared, reflected, and made up my mind." *

* The Reply of Moses Mendelssohn to Johann Casper Lavater, 12th December, 1769.

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APPENDIX.

THE MENDELSSOHN FAMILY.

ASTONISHMENT has often been expressed that the children and grandchildren of Moses Mendelssohn should have been induced to renounce the ancient religion of their race, which their illustrious father and grandfather upheld and defended with such consistent zeal, constancy, and erudition. I apprehend that astonishment will cease when the following facts are made more generally known and considered in all their bearings by the world at large. By an edict of Frederick the Great, dated 1752, that despotic monarch limited the number of Jews whom he would permit to reside in Berlin, and ordered that the exclusive privilege should be purchased. A Prussian Jew was obliged to pay for permission to marry; he had also to pay a tax upon every child; and if the number of Jews in the Prussian capital exceeded the limit fixed by the King's edict, the surplus was forced to quit the country. Prussian-born Jews were not allowed to enter the army, nor to become agriculturists, nor manufacturers, nor to pursue liberal professions. They were only privileged to study medicine and mathematics. A Jew who was not born at Berlin could not obtain permission to reside there,

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unless he were in the service of one of his privileged co-religionists. Moses Mendelssohn, a native of Dessau, was *tolerated* at the capital in *the capacity of a shopman* to Bernhard, his co-religionist. He was indebted to a Frenchman for the privilege of residing freely at Berlin. The Marquis D'Argens addressed a petition to Frederick in favour of Mendelssohn, to whom the king was partial. The memorial was in the following terms:—"A bad Catholic philosopher entreats a bad Protestant philosopher to grant the privilege to a bad Jewish philosopher."* The King, perhaps amused at the oddness of the appeal, granted to Mendelssohn the permission asked for; but which, it was understood, was not to be extended to his descendants; and for this grant a thousand thalers were demanded. This tax was, however, remitted.

The foregoing statement would appear to be almost incredible but for the exhibition of narrow-minded illiberality and antagonism to Jewish interests of which the modern German *Anti-Semites* have lately given the world a too infamous experience. It would account for the descendants of Moses Mendelssohn having abandoned Judaism and professed Christianity; and not only the members of that gifted family, but such eminent artists as Heine, Moscheles, Ferdinand Ries, Ferdinand Hiller, Joachim, Rubinstein, and numberless other distinguished German, Polish, Hungarian, and Russian Jewish musicians, poets, painters, *literati*, and scientists, who, finding that the religion of their fathers would interfere with the free exercise of their professional career, renounced its practice, and professed the dominant religion of their native country which at once removed every obstruction, and restriction, and religious prejudice from which they might otherwise have suffered. The eminent genius, and illustrious philosopher

* *Curiosities of Judaism*, by Philip Abraham.

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of Germany, who was merely tolerated as the "shopman" of a Berlin merchant, was

"MOSES MENDELSSOHN,
The greatest sage since SOCRATES,
His own nation's glory,
Any nation's ornament,
The confidant
Of LESSING and of Truth.
He died,
As he lived,
Serene and wise."*

or, according to Professor Rammler's monumental inscription :—

"MOSES MENDELSSOHN,
Born at Dessau, of Jewish parents,
A sage like Socrates,
Faithful to his ancient creed,
Teaching immortality,
Himself immortal."†

* Inscription on a bust in Professor Herz's studio at Berlin.

† Inscription on a monument erected to Mendelssohn by Professor Rammler, at Berlin. From *Memoirs of Moses Mendelssohn*, by M. Samuel.

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No. VI.

SHYLOCK,

FROM A JEWISH POINT OF VIEW.

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VI.

SHYLOCK,

FROM A JEWISH POINT OF VIEW.

NATIVE and foreign writers have long been engaged in criticising, commenting and speculating upon Shakespeare's inimitable drama "The Merchant of Venice"; and it will doubtless furnish matter for further criticism, exposition and learned discussions to writers yet unborn. Innumerable, and apparently inexhaustible literary antiquaries and commentators have occupied themselves in searching for, and investigating the probable sources whence Shakespeare derived the elements of its plot, its incidents, and its characters, upon whom he has conferred an immortal personality; and also of minutely analysing every part of the play with reference to its complete design. In commenting upon this magnificent drama I have had in view an entirely different object, which is to vindicate the Jewish name from a large amount of unjust obloquy which it has too long sustained in its connection with Shakespeare's ideal Hebrew.

The *raison d'être* of the "Merchant of Venice" is, unquestionably, *Shylock, the Jew*, who is justly regarded as one of Shakespeare's most masterly dramatic creations. Noble in conception, transcendent in execution,

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and powerful in human interest, this remarkable character may be considered the *primum mobile* of the play; while the execrable supposititious incident of the bond and pound of flesh, which leads to its most dramatic "situation," may be viewed as its cardinal motive. Upon his much-maligned imaginary Israelite —grave, stern, proud, shrewd, logical, defiant and inflexible—Shakespeare has profusely expended some of the sublimest efforts of his genius; but for stage-effect, and in order to conform to the religious prejudices of his age, he has unhappily at the same time heaped upon him many vile propensities, abhorrent alike to Jew and Christian, to religion and humanity. Under the seal and sanction of his illustrious name the fictitious *Shylock* has been universally accepted, and as widely condemned, without a sufficiently impartial investigation, as a true impersonation of a wealthy Jew of the Middle Ages. Thus has been ruthlessly cast upon the entire Jewish race a foul slander, an immense enduring wrong.

The fancy portrait of the Venetian Jew, which, with marvellous intuitive faculty and profound knowledge of the springs and actions of the human heart, Shakespeare has so artistically drawn, shows, undoubtedly, many correct outlines of the Jewish character; but its dominant feature, the inhuman desire to wreak upon *Antonio*, his self-avowed and implacable enemy, his "lodged hate," by cutting from his body a pound of flesh, in accordance with the terms of his "merry" bond, has, unquestionably, no warrant in reality; no place in any authentic Jewish record; no sanction in Jewish laws, nor in Rabbinical traditions.

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Shakespeare misinterpreted Jewish feeling when he put into the mouth of *Shylock* the sentence: "I hate him *for he is a Christian.*" *Shylock* would not have hated *Antonio* because of his Christianity; but because *Antonio* hated his sacred nation; because he railed against him, and his bargains in the public thoroughfares; because he rated him about his moneys, and his profits; because he insulted his revered religion, and himself; because he spat upon his beard and gaberdine, and called him "misbeliever," "cut-throat dog," and spurned him as a cur. Had *Shylock* so treated *Antonio,* would the Christian have loved the Jew? If the Jew of the Middle Ages hated the Christian, it was only in return for the "lodged hate" which the Christian bore the Jew. Jews at no period of their mediæval history, nor since, have hated Christians on account of their religion; but on account of the cruel oppressions they suffered at their hands; the inhuman persecutions and savage treatment, and insults, and contempt which Christianity and its professors brought upon them and their beloved families, as well as upon their hallowed religion. Jews are, and have always been taught to forgive their enemies; they are not instructed to love them. When Christians sincerely love their enemies, Jews, by "Christian example," will be prepared to "do likewise."

By all who have attentively studied the spirit of Judaism it will be acknowledged that Jews are strictly enjoined to practise forbearance, and mercy, and charity in its widest sense to all men; and to deal impartial justice to the stranger no less than to each other. They are commanded by their immutable

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divine Law to love their neighbours as themselves, and to treat all living creatures with kindness, mercy, and humane consideration. When slaughtering animals required for food, they are forbidden to torture them, or to subject them to prolonged suffering. To mutilate any living creature, much less a human being, is strictly opposed to the merciful spirit of the Jewish Law, as it would be abhorrent to the Jewish nature. It may be confidently averred that no Jew that ever had existence, beyond the inflamed imagination of a romancer or a balladmonger, was ever justly charged with the abominable crime of animal mutilation, or even with the barbarous disposition to mutilate, which is ascribed to *Shylock*. The mere suggestion that so horrible a desire might be possible, has been viewed by all Jews as a foul libel upon Jewish character. Cruelty to the person has never been a Jewish vice. An animal that has been wounded, or upon which any kind of cruelty has been perpetrated, is pronounced by Jewish law, and by Jewish practice to be wholly unfit for human food.

Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice" will, doubtless, endure as long as the language in which it is written; consequently the odium which now attaches to its principal character will be as permanent, unless some all-potent counteracting influence be publicly brought against it.

Shakespeare has dramatised many villainous, brutal, and detestable Christian characters—notably *Macbeth*, *King John*, *Richard III.* and *Iago*. Other great dramatists, in like manner, have placed upon the stage non-Jewish characters not less execrable, among

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whom may be mentioned that arch-villain, *Sir Giles Overreach;* but they have left no trace of stigma or reproach upon any community of Christians; whereas the purely imaginary, vengeful, inhuman desires unjustly fastened upon the entirely fictitious Hebrew have balefully recoiled upon the whole Jewish race, with an injury to the character of modern Jews which may be regarded as almost irremediable. It is surely time that this too-long endured national wrong should cease. It is time that Christians should know Jews as they are, and not judge of them as they have been misrepresented in the Middle Ages; nor, indeed, as they are too often misapprehended and misrepresented by intolerance and ignorance even at the present day. It would appear but scant justice rendered by modern Christians to the Jews of modern times, who are their fellow-subjects and citizens, their legislators, their magistrates, their judges, their legal advocates, their colleagues in office, their associates in commerce, their social intimates, their friends—that they should openly avow, and freely and widely acknowledge that the vicious propensities and inhuman dispositions which are dramatically ascribed to *Shylock* are not in reality Jewish attributes, and that the stage representation of them as such is a libel upon Jewish character, and a perpetual wrong to the Jewish race. The poison should be succeeded by its antidote; the wrong should be followed by its acknowledgment.

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II.

JEWS had not been known in England for a period of about three hundred years when "The Merchant of Venice" was written. It is but reasonable, therefore, to suppose that many unfavourable traditions respecting them may have been handed down from generation to generation, coloured, and re-coloured by the jaundiced imaginations of those who spoke and wrote of them; and that many slanderous legends and stories relating to the "mysterious people" who had been banished from the country in 1290, distorted and exaggerated by each successive narrator, may have prepared playgoers and readers of plays to believe Jews capable of any enormity which might be placed to their discredit. Thus the character of *Shylock* would have been at once welcomed as a true representative of the people whom they had been taught for ages to despise and to hate.

In what manner Shakespeare acquired his impressions of Jewish character must for ever remain concealed among the many hidden secrets of the Past. He would seem to have possessed prolific sources of knowledge which his critics and commentators have yet failed to discover. He may possibly have had access to many ancient records relating to the ancient Jews of England, dating from 1066 to 1290, some of which have been preserved in the Tower of London and in other depositories of national documents, and from which some compilations were published in the last century, under the title of "Anglia Judaica," by Dr. Blossieres Tovey, LL.D.

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It may be imagined with what absorbing interest the large-hearted, large-minded Shakespeare would have perused such interesting records; and how earnestly, with his pure religious spirit and his ardent impressionable nature, he would have studied and appreciated the Biblical and post-Biblical history of the Jews; and with what tenderness of feeling he would sorrowfully have contrasted their glorious Past with their then down-fallen state. That our illustrious bard comprehended, and deeply sounded the innermost nature of the proud, although oppressed, Israelite, and warmly sympathised with his strictly conservative religious and national sentiments, his deeply-rooted racial aspirations, is clearly shown in his wondrous creation of *Shylock*, whose incisive utterances, rich in radiant flashes of lightning scorn, bitter irony, trenchant invective, epigrammatic retort, sparkling wit, and inexorable logic, occasionally tempered by emotional allusions to his wife; as when, for instance, he was informed by Tubal that Jessica had exchanged a ring for a monkey, he burst forth with:—"Thou torturest me Tubal! It was *my* turquoise: I had it of Leah when I was a bachelor: I would not have given it for a wilderness of monkeys!" His marvellous variety of thought, his exuberance of ideas, his magic power of language have invested the despised, but feared, Jew with a moral grandeur, an irresistible racial dignity wholly impervious to the mean gibes and arrogance of the cravens whom he condescended to honour with his "lodged hate," his "certain loathing," and his withering contempt.

It may be conceived with what amazement the first

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Christian audiences of the "Merchant of Venice" must have listened to the following trenchant argument from the mouth of a Jew whom they had been taught from infancy to regard as an inferior being possessed of no natural rights. "He hath disgraced me, and hindered me of half a million; laughed at my losses, mocked at my gains, scorned my nation, thwarted my bargains, cooled my friends, heated my enemies; and what's his reason? *I am a Jew!* Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands? organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, heated by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us do we not bleed? If you tickle us do we not laugh? If you poison us do we not die? And if you wrong us shall we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility? Revenge! If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be, by Christian example? Why, revenge! The villainy you teach me, I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction." That Shakespeare should have had the temerity to put such bold words into the mouth of his ideal Jew whom the other characters of his play were at the same time holding up to public abhorrence and contempt, to ridicule and derision, is even now a subject for astonishment. It unquestionably shows the powerful sway, the irresistible influence that the immortal dramatist must have exercised over the minds of his audiences. However

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we may deplore the circumstance that the immense genius of Shakespeare has been employed in disseminating an evil impression of Jewish character, and thus of perpetuating a great national wrong, it must be freely confessed that he is entitled to Jewish gratitude for endeavouring to suggest a human motive for the action of *Shylock*, by exhibiting on the one hand the intolerable insolence and oppression and injustice of his religious adversaries, and on the other hand his acute sense of what was due to him as a rational man, and a Jew. As pourtrayed by Shakespeare *Shylock* is, as other men, subject to the infirmities of humanity. "If," says Hazlitt, "he carries his revenge too far, yet he has strong grounds for the 'lodged hate he bears *Antonio*,' which he explains with equal force of eloquence and reason. He seems to be the depositary of the vengeance of his race; and though the long habit of brooding daily over insults and injuries has crusted over his temper with inveterate misanthropy, and hardened him against the contempt of mankind, this adds but little to the triumphant pretensions of his enemies. There is a strong, quick, and deep sense of justice mixed up with the gall and bitterness of his resentment."

He cannot love those who detest and despise him; who scorn all that he holds most dear—his religion and his nation; who rob him of his daughter, the only child of his beloved Leah; who would strip him of his wealth—his "well-won thrift;" who would wound his soul by their petty insults; who would goad him to madness by their indignities! With what indomitable courage, with what withering

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scorn, with what nobility of spirit and utterance *Shylock* exposes the abject meanness of the Venetian fop, *Gratiano!* With what loathing he shrinks from his approach! How he dwarfs him into insignificance by his glance! How superbly, how independently, and with what unanswerable logic he replies to the *Duke!* How contemptuously he informs *Bassanio* that he is not bound to please him with his answer! Encircled by his bitter enemies, *Shylock* bears himself proudly as the isolated representative of a once great nation. He is a giant among pigmies, a monarch in his grand desolation, sublime in his complete misery!

"Excellent Will," exclaims, with generous spirit, the gifted authoress of "John Halifax, Gentleman," "in spite of his noble protest, 'Hath not a Jew eyes?' wrung, as it were, out of his own manly, honest nature, which not all the prejudices of his time could wholly subdue, did a cruel wrong to a whole nation when he painted the character of *Shylock*. Yet, in spite of himself, the Poet, like many an intelligent actor succeeding, has contrived to put some grand touches into the poor old Jew. Mean as he was, you cannot but feel that the Christians were meaner; that they returned evil for evil, in most unchristian fashion; encouraging swindling, trickery, and domestic abduction in a way that was not likely to raise their creed in an adversary's eyes. And even when Doctor *Portia's* quibble triumphs, and *Shylock* is dismissed to ignominy, the most excited playgoer cannot but be aware, in that uncomfortable portion of his being called 'conscience,'

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of a slight twinge, suggesting that two wrongs will never make one right; and that a certain amount of injustice has been done to the miserable old man, cheated at once out of his ducats and his daughter—nay, the very ring that he had from Leah, when he was a bachelor."

Douce says, in concluding his Commentary on the "Merchant of Venice," p. 292—

"It is much to be lamented that this exquisitely beautiful drama can neither be read nor performed without exciting in every humane and liberal mind an abhorrence of its professed design to vilify an ancient and respectable, but persecuted nation. It should be remembered that contempt and intolerance must naturally excite hatred; that to provoke revenge is in fact to become responsible for the crimes it may occasion; that to those who would degrade and oppress us, it is but justice to oppose craft; and that nature has supplied even the brute creation with the means of resisting persecution. It will be readily conceded that there happily exist in the present moment but few remains of the illiberal prejudices complained of, the asperity of which has been greatly mitigated by the laudable and successful exertions of a modern dramatic writer, to whom the Jewish people are under the highest obligations."

Critics and commentators have variously judged the character of *Shylock*. Some have considered it in the broad spirit of generosity and justice; others, on the contrary, in the narrow spirit of malice and intolerance. Some have viewed it by the lights of reason and warm sympathy; others in the dim ob-

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security of social dislike and bigoted prejudice. But under every aspect and presentment Shakespeare's *Shylock* has, for nearly three centuries, stood prominently forth as the embodiment of assumed evil attributes, in deference to the then existing state of unreasonable popular feeling.

When, about forty years ago, the eminent French Israelite, Monsieur Crémieux, advocate, deputy, and philanthropist, presented to Louis Philippe an address from the *Consistoire Centrâle* of Paris, he received from the King the following significant reply:—"Continue," said the sagacious monarch, "to instruct your youth, and combat by your incessant efforts the prejudices against the Israelites which may even yet exist. Bear in mind that water which falls drop by drop will ultimately wear away the hardest stone."

Some actors who have been incapable of soaring to the immeasurable heights of Shakespeare's transcendent fancy have misapprehended, and consequently misrepresented alike the human nature and dramatic character and demeanour of *Shylock*. Actors, in bygone years, were wont to impersonate him as a cruel, cringing, remorseless, gold-grasping moneylender, servile and abased; an aged, red-haired decrepit, revengeful monster, unworthy of consideration. That such a distorted specimen of humanity was not "The Jew that Shakespeare drew" has been since clearly evidenced.

Some actors of genius who have recognised in Shakespeare's ideal Jew a descendant of an illustrious ancient race of heroes, prophets, and kings; a

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man "no less sinned against than sinning"; a man of a naturally noble nature, moved to revenge by long-sustained injuries and insults; a man whose nature has been made hard and inexorable by cruel circumstances, have flung around him the imperial mantle of dignity and honour. It has been left, however, to a great living actor to impersonate for the first time "The Jew that Shakespeare drew": to impart to that remarkable character a native dignity and expression which, as it would appear, was never dreamt of in the philosophy of earlier actors.

Shylock is a wealthy Jew of Venice, such as the Jews were in that Republic in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. Now it is an historical fact that the rich Israelites domiciled in the Venetian Republic before and after their wholesale expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula, were a very superior section of the Jewish community. They were either Spanish and Portuguese born, or the descendants of that once distinguished portion of the great Hebrew family. They were proud in spirit, and dignified in demeanour. As merchants they held a very distinguished position. As early as A.D. 1400, the Venetian Senate had placed the Jews of their Republic on a substantial footing, by granting to them the privilege of establishing a bank in the City of Venice; and in 1472 the Doge and the Senate protected them from popular outbreaks, besides commanding the magistracy of Padua to treat them with the same consideration as all the other subjects of the Venetian Republic. In common with the illustrious family of the Medici, who, as it is well known, were at the

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same time, sovereigns, bankers, and money-lenders, and who, in the latter capacity, made immense profits from loans upon which they received exorbitant rates of interest, and, in common, also, with the people of all nations, both ancient and modern, the Venetian Jews no doubt lent money to those who sought to borrow it; but to imagine that at any period of their chequered history every Jew was a money-lender and "usurer" is so preposterous a calumny as to be unworthy of refutation.

Among the most remarkable and honoured Israelites domiciled in Venice in the fifteenth century was the noble, gifted, and esteemed Don Isaac Abarbanel. He was of an illustrious family of Spanish origin, and had been Finance Minister to Ferdinand and Isabella. He had been afterwards appointed Minister to Alfonso V. and Ferdinand II. of Naples. In the department of Sacred Literature he immortalised his name by his "Dissertations on the Holy Scriptures." The presence in Venice, in the fifteenth century, of an Israelite of such wide fame, and such general respect as a statesman, a diplomatist, and a philosopher, must have sufficed to ensure favourable treatment to the Jewish people, of whom he was such a remarkable example.

Mons. Maximilian Misson, in his "New Voyage to Italy," in 1688, says:—"There are some Jews in Venice who drive a great trade, especially the Portuguese, who are very rich here, as well as at Amsterdam and elsewhere. That part of the city which is allotted to them is called *Il Ghetto*, or *The Jewry*. They wear hats covered with scarlet, doubled and

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edged with black; but the poorer sort use waxed linen instead of cloth."

Indulging one fine September afternoon in 1840, in a solitary ramble over the *Lido*, a strip of *terra firma*, artificially made to keep out the Adriatic from the City of Venice, I was induced by the fineness of the sea-air to wander farther than I had intended. At the approach of twilight I found myself in an unenclosed piece of land, which, from its damp and mildewed appearance, had evidently been washed by the waves of the Adriatic. I was about to retrace my footsteps to find my gondola when my foot struck against a half-sunken stone. I stopped to examine it, and discovered, with great surprise, that it was inscribed with Hebrew characters, and was the upper portion of a Hebrew grave-stone. My curiosity was quickly aroused, and, with a glow of national emotion, I proceeded to inspect other grave-stones, some partially embedded in the earth, which I found scattered about in many directions. I at once conjectured that my ramble had led me into a very old and apparently disused Jewish cemetery. I became more and more interested; I thought of *Shylock*, and the Jewish merchants of Venice of the olden time, as, in my solitude I stood among the ancient tombs of my ancestors, decyphering, not without some difficulty, the dates and inscriptions upon the several grave-stones which I approached. I noticed particularly a stone upon which was engraven the outspread hands, the insignia of the Jewish priesthood; and other stones upon which were engraven coats of arms, with the addition of a closed helmet. I then copied

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an indistinct date, 1693, and read the following inscriptions on two separate stones :—"Deo Grazia, Consorte di Davide Emanuele Moccate Falecio, 21, T., 1546;" and "Elias Davide Emanuele Moccate, 1542," and a date, 1469, as far as I could make it out. The ancient cemetery seemed capable of containing the dead of many centuries.

The twilight had been gradually deepening, and, fearing to be overtaken by darkness, I reluctantly returned to seek my gondolier, who had been impatiently awaiting me. I was unavoidably prevented from again visiting the ancient Jewish cemetery, as I had proposed to do; but I had seen sufficient to assure me that the Venetian Jews in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries had been "men of mark" among the merchants of Venice, that on the *Rialto*, where merchants most did congregate, they had held their own against the *Antonios*, the *Bassanios*, and the *Gratianos* of the time; and that the Jews of Venice were not of the mean, abject stamp which the vulgar imagination has so long associated with the Venetian *Shylock*.

III.

It is notorious that at certain unhappy intervals during the Middle Ages, aptly styled the "Iron Ages" of Judaism, gross-minded rhymesters and ribald romancers were wont to give free vent to their foul fancies in obscene, infamous stories which furnished a kind of unwholesome literary food suited to the vitiated appetites of the intolerant, superstitious

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readers of those times. The stories which were found most entertaining introduced as the principal character a rich Jew surcharged with evil propensities and improbable crimes; a dastardly, sordid, and abased creature, craving for gold and practising "cruel usury." These slanderous ballads and legends, the ravings of spite and malice, served the purpose for which they were written, viz., to excite popular fury, and to sustain irrepressible hatred of the Jews, whose intellectual superiority and remarkable sagacity enabled them to acquire a monetary influence and power which their religious antagonists professed to despise, but which in reality they envied. To some of these insensate ballads and romances—to which I shall presently make further reference—probably written between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, in different countries, has the world been indebted for those libellous dramas in which a Jew has been made to act an abhorrent part. The first play of this kind is mentioned by Stephen Gosson in his "School of Abuse,"—1579—under the title of "The Jew." Its author is not known. It is said by Gosson to have represented "The greedinesse of worldly chusers, and bloody mindes of userers." In it "You will find never a worde without witte; never a line without pith; never a letter placed in vaine." It is conjectured as probable that its plot must have included the incidents of the caskets and the pound of flesh, and was essentially the same as that of "The Merchant of Venice." This ancient play, which, as Gosson says, "was showne at the Bull" (Theatre), was followed in 1590-1 by Christopher Marlow's "Rich Jew of Malta," a powerfully written tragedy, but replete

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with horrible incidents, and dramatic "situations" so exaggerated and improbable as to border on the realms of caricature. The principal character is *Barabas*, a very rich Maltese Jewish merchant, whose richly-laden argosies sailing to and from the east were known in every Mediterranean port. The rich Jew of Malta was not, strange to relate, represented as a "usurer." To show how the Jewish merchant was regarded by the Christian Maltese merchants, I will cite the following lines from the tragedy itself:—

SCENE 1.—BARABAS *discovered in his Counting-house with heaps of gold before him.*

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.

Bar. Bags of fiery opals, sapphires, amethysts;
Jacinths, hard topaz, grass green emeralds,
Beauteous rubies, sparkling diamonds,
And seld seen costly stones of so great price,
As one of them, indifferently rated,
And of a carat of this quantity,
May serve, in peril of calamity,
To ransom great kings from captivity.
This is the ware wherein consists my wealth.

ENTER *a Merchant.*

Mer. Barabas, thy ships are safe
Riding in Malta Road; and all the merchants
With their merchandise are safe arrived,
And have sent me to know whether yourself
Will come and custom them?

Bar. The ships are safe, thou sayest, and richly fraught?

Mer. They are.

Bar. Why then go bid them come ashore
And bring with them their bills of entry:

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I hope our credit in the custom-house
Will serve as well as I was present there.
Go send them three score camels, thirty mules,
And twenty waggons to bring up the ware.

ENTER *Second Merchant.*

2 *Mer.* Thine argosie from Alexandria,
Know, Barabas, doth ride in Malta Road,
Laden with riches, and exceeding store
Of Persian silks, of gold, and orient pearl.

.
.

Bar.
What more may Heaven do for earthly man
Than thus to pour out plenty in their laps,
Ripping the bowels of the earth for them,
Making the sea their servants, and the winds
To drive their substance with successful blasts?
Who hateth me but for my happiness?
Or who is honored now but for his wealth?
Rather had I, a Jew, be hated thus,
Than pitied in a Christian poverty,
For I can see no fruits in all their faith
But malice, falsehood, and excessive pride:
Which, methinks, fit not their profession.

.
I must confess we come not to be kings;
That's not our fault; our number's few,
And crowns come either by succession
Or urged by force; and nothing violent
Oft have I heard tell, can be permanent.
Give us peaceful rule, make Christians kings,
That thirst so much for principality.
I have no charge, nor many children,
But one sole daughter, whom I hold as dear
As Agamemnon did his Iphigine;
And all I have is hers.

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The Sultan of Turkey sends an embassy to Malta to claim the payment of an overdue ten years' tribute. The sum is too large for the Government of Malta to pay, and the Jews of the island are called upon to contribute towards it. Barabas, the richest Jew in Malta, is unjustly stripped of all his wealth and worldly possessions; he is, besides, robbed of his only daughter who is made to apostatise, and to enter a convent of nuns. Goaded to madness by insufferable indignities, by wholesale rapine, and personal insult; and, moreover, provoked beyond human endurance to a pitch of frenzy, Barabas determines upon revenging himself. He plans and executes many atrocious crimes; is brought to trial, and is condemned by the Governor of Malta, the hateful originator of all the concomitant evils, to be boiled alive. This inhuman sentence, executed with life-like truth, was daily repeated upon the stage to the inexpressible delight of crowded applauding audiences. "The impossible slanders of the Christian play-wrights which, to-day, would be an insult to common sense, were then," says Mons. François Victor Hugo, "consecrated by universal assent. The poets repeated in verse the calumnies that the preachers re-iterated in prose: the stage-boards of the theatre echoed the pulpits of the church. The public enthusiasm was immense at the end of the play, when Barabas, the Jew, was thrown into the foaming cauldron. Nearly the entire population of the good city of London went to see the spectacle. Not being able to roast the bodily form of a Jew, as had been recently done by the citizens of Metz, the Christian populace of London went every day to see

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one of the race burnt in effigy. Protestantism, instead of allaying the prejudice then existing against the Jews, fanaticised them." What a woeful and humiliating manifestation of Protestant superstition, bigotry, and hate in the brilliant intellectual age of Elizabeth!

Hazlitt, the elder, describes the "Rich Jew of Malta" as "extreme in act, and outrageous in plot and catastrophe: as a tissue of gratuitous, unprovoked, and incredible atrocities, which are committed one upon the back of another by the parties concerned without motive, passion, or object."

From the extraordinary popular success of Marlow's tragedy, the immediate precursor of "The Merchant of Venice," it may be fairly assumed that the play-goers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were always ready and willing to welcome any dramatic representation, however extravagant and opposed to probability, which might serve to hold up Jews to public scorn, to derision and unlimited condemnation. Marlow's tragedy prepared the English public for Shakespeare's greater play. The suppositious atrocities committed by the grossly-injured ideal Jew of Malta, pioneered the fictitious evil designs of the ill-used ideal Jew of Venice. Shylock was, so to speak, the corollary of Barabas. Shakespeare may possibly have borrowed from Marlow; but he totally eclipsed him by his dazzling brilliance.

Of the two principal incidents out of which the plot of "The Merchant of Venice" is formed, viz., those of the caskets, and the bond, or pound of flesh, I am concerned only with the latter, of which there exist numerous versions, all of them being different, and

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purely imaginary, with one exception which I shall hereafter more particularly notice. It was evidently a popular story for many ages, and is supposed to have originated in the east. All the various versions bear more or less a resemblance to the bond story of "The Merchant of Venice." I leave to Shakespeare's commentators to settle among themselves the yet undecided question whence Shakespeare may have borrowed the incidents of his drama, whether from the ancient play, "The Jew," of which Stephen Gosson speaks, or from the more ancient Italian novel, entitled *Il Pecorone*, in which are narrated the adventures of Gianetto; or from the old ribald ballad in three parts, called "Gernutus, the Jew of Venice;" or from another libellous ballad, named "The Northern Lord;" or from Gregorio Leti's quaint narrative of the wager between a Christian and a Jewish merchant, which took place at Rome in 1585. With my special aim alone in view, it is sufficient for me to point to the significant fact of there being extant so many versions of the same story.

Many thoughtless persons, it is well known, are in the habit of making use of inflated language upon the most ordinary occasions. To lay wagers in an unmeaning manner is a common foible. How often we listen to such insensate phrases as the following:—"I will lay my life!" "I would give the world!" "I bet you anything in the world!" and so on. It would appear, in like manner, to have been an ancient custom in Italy, and probably in other countries, to use such senseless expressions as "I lay you my head!" (*Scometto la mia testa!*) or "I bet you a hand!"

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(*Scometto una mano!*) or "I wager you a pound of flesh from my body!" *Scometto una libra di carne del mio corpo!* and so on; with as little intention of forfeiting a pound of flesh as of forfeiting a life, or a head, or a hand, in the faithful discharge of a debt of honour, or a wager. This would seem to be a sufficiently reasonable explanation of the existence of such numerous and varied versions of the pound of flesh bond story.

Attempts have been made by some Shakespearean critics to cast doubt upon the incident of the "Roman wager," written in quaint Italian, in minute detail, by Gregorio Leti, the biographer of Pope Sixtus V. It has been insinuated that his narrative is not to be depended upon. The motive for this is not far to seek. Had the inexorable claimant of the pound of flesh, Secchi, been a Roman Jew, instead of being a Roman Christian, and the unfortunate loser of the wager, Cenado, been a Roman Christian instead of being a Roman Jew, there would undoubtedly have been no difficulty experienced in receiving the story as authentic. In their Introduction to the Clarendon Press edition of "The Merchant of Venice," Messrs. Clarke and Wright conclude with a reference to different versions of the story told by Gregorio Leti, in his 'Life of Sixtus V.,' which (they say) rests on very slight authority. They do not state any grounds for regarding the 'authority' of Leti as 'slight.' Its author claims for his narrative of the wager-incident equal authority with his narrative of other extraordinary incidents in the life, full of startling circumstances, of one of the most remarkable Pontiffs

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who ever sat upon the Papal throne, and the truth of which has never been doubted. Ellis Farneworth, the English translator and editor of the interesting old chronicle, published in London, in 1745, directs attention—in a foot-note—to the probability of Shakespeare having borrowed the incident of the pound of flesh from the old Italian biography. Although he says of Gregorio Leti that when he wrote his work he had grown into the talkative and tautological age of man, he, at the same time, freely acknowledges that his statements are for the most part correct, and that they have been confirmed by contemporaneous historians. What possible motive could Leti, who was a Roman Catholic, have had in inventing the incident of the wager, which tells against a merchant of note of his own religious creed?

A German book-worm is said by the Germans to have "first disclosed the curious fact that Shakespeare had borrowed the incident that leads up to the chief situation in Shakespeare's play from a quaint chronicle by one of his Italian contemporaries, named Gregorio Leti," and that the Teutonic Shakespeareans hold that the Swan of Avon, besides changing the scene from Rome to Venice, and altering the character of the contract, transferred the objectionable part of the transaction from the Christian to the Jew, in deference to the rampant religious prejudices of the age he lived in. However this may be, no doubt can be reasonably entertained of the actual occurrence, as described by Leti, during the manhood of our illustrious bard. The circumstances which surrounded

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the Roman wager, as well as the incident itself, were so remarkable, that it would appear hardly possible for a report of them not to have reached England, and not to have come under the notice of Shakespeare before he had produced his "Merchant of Venice."

The full text of Leti's narrative, which I have extracted from "La Vita di Sisto Quinto," and which, I assume, is now published separately for the first time, together with Ellis Farneworth's English translation, to which, to ensure greater accuracy, I have ventured to make a few emendations, will be found in the Appendix at the end of this commentary, to which will be added some other versions of the bond story.

In bringing to a termination my remarks upon Jews as they are, and as they have been formerly misrepresented by their adversaries, I may, perhaps, be permitted to indulge in hopeful anticipations of a nearer and more frequent intercourse between Christians and Jews, which cannot fail to bring about an increase of mutual sympathy and regard. Both may learn from each other many very valuable lessons of life, and mutually improve each other by a free interchange of ideas and opinions without trenching, in the slightest degree, upon each others' religious convictions. The observance of the passive principle of non-intervention would appear, from long experience, to be the only true basis of mutual peace and amity; while the active principle of interference, on the contrary, has been proved by ages of suffering to be the sure source of dissension and enmity, and the very bane of existence. Life is too precious to be employed in vain contentions! Time is too brief to

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be wasted in futile disputations. All men and women have much to learn, to do, and to suffer, for which their unexhausted physical and moral powers should be kept always in reserve. Would that Christians and Jews might alike recognise the fact that they have in reality much in common; and that, while seeking to know each other better than they have hitherto done, they might wisely arrive at the conclusion that it is the Will of God that they should dwell together in peace and love as the children of the one Universal Father.

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APPENDIX.

THE following are among the sources from which Shakespeare may have borrowed the chief incident in the "Merchant of Venice" :—

DOLOPATHOS; or the King and the seven Sages.

A Latin collection of tales written by Jean of Haute-Seille (1179-1212). Translated into French by Herbert in 1223.

A young lord had borrowed a sum of money from a rich vassal, who, from having taken some offence, had become his enemy. The lord agreed that in the event of his being unable to repay the loan at a fixed period, his vassal should be at liberty to cut a pound of flesh from his body. The money was not forthcoming at the time appointed, and the vassal claimed his pound of flesh. The lord is spared through the intercession of his lady. Having refused the money when afterwards offered to him, the vassal is, in the end, condemned to pay his lord a sum of money.

THE BOND STORY in a collection of stories entitled "Gesta Romanorum."

The Anglo-Latin version of this story was compiled about A.D. 1390, and the English version about A.D. 1450. This story, according to Madden, is not to be found in the original Latin version. It is said to be discoverable in some Latin MSS. of Germany of the 15th century, notably in the *Augsburg Edition* of 1489, and *Œsterly's Berlin Edition* of 1872.

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Mr. Wright has printed it in his "Latin Stories of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries." It bears the following title :—"De milite conventionem faciente cum mercatore." The bond runs thus :—"Conventis talis erit, quod mihi cartam unam de sanguine trio facias, quod si diem inter nos non tenueris carnes tui corporis evellere cum gladis acuto."

The contracting parties are a Christian knight and a Christian merchant. "A knight borrows money of a merchant on condition of forfeiting *all his flesh* for the non-repayment." The money is not repaid and the penalty is claimed. The parties appear before the judge. The knight's mistress comes into court disguised as a man, and by permission of the judge she endeavours in vain to induce the inflexible merchant to forego his claim. She offers to repay him ; she even offers him double the amount, but his reply is always the same, "I will have my bond." The disguised lady then demands from the judge a just verdict. "You know," said the lady. "that the knight pledged his flesh only, but without his blood, of which there is no mention in the bond. Let the merchant cut the flesh from the knight's body ; but if he shed blood he will be answerable to the king." "Then," said the merchant, "give me my money, and I discharge him from the action." But the lady replied, "Not one penny shall you have! cut his flesh, but shed no blood!" The merchant, finding himself over-reached, departed. The knight was saved, and the merchant lost his money.

THE BOND STORY in the "Cursor Mundi," originally written at the end of the thirteenth century in English in a northern dialect.

The following is an outline of the story :—

A Christian goldsmith in the service of Queen Eline, the mother of Constantine, had borrowed from a Jew a sum of

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money, upon an agreement that should he not return the coin at a stated time he would render to his creditor an equal weight of his own flesh. The time for repayment arrived; but the money was not forthcoming, whereupon the Jew went to the Queen's court and demanded to have judgment awarded him. It happened that two messengers from the court of Constantine, named respectively Benciras and Ansieres, had been sent on a mission to beg Eline, the Queen, to cause a search to be made for the holy cross; and these messengers were sitting in her court as judges, before whom soon appeared both the Christian and the Jew, the former being naked, and the latter bearing a sharp knife. The Jew, who would not agree to a ransom, was promised justice, and was asked by Benciras and Ansieres how he would treat his debtor if he were adjudged to him. "How?" replied the Jew, "I would treat him as ill as the law would allow. First I would put out his eyes; then I would cut off his hands with which he works. I would then have his tongue, and his nose, and so on until the covenant be fulfilled." To which the judges responded:—"It seemeth to us that you will not spare him. Take therefore his flesh,—for that he grants you so long as you take not his blood. But beware that he lose not one drop of blood, for if he do, the wrong will be on you; because though his flesh were bought or sold he did not think to sell his blood."

"Then," said the Jew, "By St. Drightin
Methink the worse part is mine;
To take the flesh if I assay
Then the blood will run away:
For don ye have me with your dome
That you Romans brought from Rome,
Curses therefore may they have
All that such a dome me gave."

Then said Benciras:—"The whole court has heard your

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abuse of us in your ire ; the Queen has sent us here to do righteousness, and we have told you the truth ! " Queen Eline, being well assured of the Christian's safety, bade the judges to condemn the Jew to yield to her all his possessions ; and also to doom him to lose his abusive tongue. " I would rather tell you where your Lord's rood-tree lies," exclaimed the Jew, " than be thus condemned." And Queen Eline pardoned the Jew upon the condition that he would point out the place where the Holy Cross lay hidden. Having done so he was pardoned.

THE ADVENTURES OF GIANETTO. From *Il Pecorone*, or the *Loggerhead ;* written by Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, in 1378. Published at Milan in 1558. (The story is told on the 4th day.) From Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Library*.

There was once a very rich merchant of Italy named Bindo, who had three sons, the youngest of whom was named Gianetto. When he was about to die he called his sons to his bedside and informed them that he had bequeathed his fortune to his two eldest sons, and had left no patrimony to his youngest son. He gave him his blessing, however, and recommended him to the care of an old friend named Ansaldo, a wealthy merchant of Venice, whom he had not seen for many years. When Bindo died the two elder brothers generously proposed to share their patrimony with their younger brother ; but, although grateful for their fraternal kindness, Gianetto declined the offer, and immediately prepared to travel to Venice to seek his father's old friend. Ansaldo received Gianetto with paternal affection, and, having been informed of Bindo's death, and that Gianetto had received no share of his fortune, he determined to befriend him, and caused a ship to be fitted out with a valuable cargo, and in it he sent his friend's son to seek his fortune. On his first voyage

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Gianetto was much attracted by a beautiful island, which, upon enquiry, he learned belonged to a rich and beautiful unmarried lady, and that the island was called Belmonte. He further learnt that no commander of a ship was permitted to land upon the island except upon certain conditions, which if not performed would involve the certain forfeiture, to the lady, of the vessel with all her freight. It was told to Gianetto that many commanders of ships had landed there and had lost their ships with their cargoes. This stimulated Gianetto's curiosity the more, and he determined to land, and take the risk. The Lady of Belmonte was informed of the arrival of a handsome young foreigner, and he was at once invited to her palace, and was received graciously. Being unable to fulfil the conditions imposed upon him, his ship and its rich freight became forfeited to the lady according to the usual custom of the place. He returned to Venice, and after some delays he reached that city without any property. The sailors who had accompanied him having dispersed to different countries, were not to be found. Gianetto accounted to Ansaldo for the loss of his ship by stating that he had been shipwrecked. Ansaldo was desirous of giving his old friend's son another chance of making a fortune, and he fitted out another ship with a rich cargo, in which Gianetto set sail for the same island of Belmonte, hoping to be more successful than on his first venture. Again, under the identical circumstances, he lost his ship and her freight. On his return to Venice Gianetto confided to Ansaldo the whole truth, and his generous friend again determined to send him forth as before. But he had so much impoverished himself that he had not sufficient ready money for the expenses of the third outfit, and was obliged to borrow ten thousand crowns from a Venetian Jew, with whom he contracted a bond that if he did not

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punctually return the amount by a fixed date he would forfeit a pound of flesh, to be cut from his body. Gianetto on his third visit to Belmonte found himself able to perform the conditions under which he might remain on the island; and, having fallen desperately in love with the beautiful Lady of Belmonte, the time had passed so agreeably that he had entirely forgotten his friend at Venice, who, in order to serve him, had entered into so terrible a bond. Having at length remembered it, the time having elapsed, he hastened to Venice, and offered double the amount to release Ansaldo from his engagement; but his Jewish creditor refused to accept the money, and claimed the pound of flesh. The Lady of Belmonte having been informed of the circumstances hastened also to Venice, disguised as a lawyer, and having again offered to repay the Jew more than the amount, which offer was again refused, judged that Ansaldo must lose the pound of flesh; but the Jew was cautioned that in cutting the flesh no blood must be spilled, nor must more than an exact pound be taken, or he would be sentenced to lose his life. The forfeiture, it is almost needless to add, was not insisted upon, and the creditor lost his money.

The full details of this curious fable of the Middle Ages, which faithfully disclose the loose ideas of morality which then prevailed, are unfit for publication. They will be found in Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Library*.

A story in many respects resembling the above is included in the *Gesta Romanorum*, "oriental legends and classical fables," compiled from old Latin chronicles. It commences with: — "Selistinus reigned, a wise Emperor in Rome, and he had a fair daughter." "Englished" from a MS. preserved in the Harleian collection of the British Museum in the time of Henry VI. It is given in full, with the original orthography in Douce's *Illustrations of*

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Shakespeare. Some of the incidents are similar, their action is different, but the full text is equally unfit for publication.

THE PERSIAN BOND STORY, translated by Francis Gladwin, Esq., from a Persian MS. of Oriental anecdotes. Extracted from his grammar published at Calcutta under the title of *The Persian Moonshee.* From the *British Magazine,* vol. 1, page 158. From January to June 1800.

"A person laid a wager with another that if he did not win (a wager), the other might cut off a *seer* of flesh from his body. Having lost the wager the plaintiff wanted to cut off the *seer* of his flesh, but he not consenting, they went together before the *Cazy.* The Cazy recommended the plaintiff to forgive him; but he would not agree to it. The Cazy, being enraged at this refusal, said, 'Cut it off; but if you exceed, or fall short of the *seer,* in the smallest degree, I will inflict on you a punishment adequate to the offence.' The plaintiff, seeing the impossibility of what was required of him, had no remedy, and therefore dropped the prosecution."

THE BALLAD OF GERNUTUS, a Jew, "who, lending to a merchant an hundred crowns would have a pound of his fleshe because he could not pay him at the time appointed."

(To the tune of *Black and Yellow.*)

This Ballad is published in *Bishop Percy's Reliques of Antique English Poetry,* and also in Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Library.*

It is hardly possible to conceive anything more venomously malicious than this ancient song, written in doggerel rhyme by an anonymous ribald balladmonger, who gives expression to the concentrated intolerant spite and pre-

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judice of ages of religious hatred. Throughout many verses, divided into two parts, he exhibits an exuberance of animus which it is certain must have filled the Jew-haters of the period with extravagant delight. *Gernutus* is conjectured to be at least as old as Shakespeare. There are strong points of resemblance between its story and *The Merchant of Venice*, which have led critics to suppose that Shakespeare borrowed from it the leading incident of his play. I think it more reasonable to entertain the contrary opinion, that the ballad was borrowed from the play, for I cannot believe that Shakespeare would have condescended to borrow ideas from an anonymous and vulgar rhymester who could pen such lines as we find in this ballad.

THE BOND AND FLESH STORY from the *Orator* of Alexander Silvaiyne. "Englished" by L. P. 4to, 1596.

"Of a Jew who would for his debt have a pound of the flesh of a Christan."

A Jew unto whom a Christian merchant owed nine hundred crowns would have summoned him for the same in Turkey. The merchant, because he would not be discredited, promised to pay the said sum within the term of three months; and if he paid it not, he was bound to give him a pound of the flesh of his body. The term being past some fifteen days, the Jew refused to take his money, and demanded the pound of his flesh. The ordinary judge of that place appointed him to cut a just pound of the Christian's flesh, and if he cut either more or less, then his own head should be smitten off. The Jew appealed from this sentence unto the chief judge.

Then follow two long harangues delivered by the Jew and the Christian. The former argues, with considerable ingenuity, in justification of his right, and the latter replies, exhibiting in his speech, in the grossest manner

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the venomous spirit which then prevailed against the Jew, his race, and his religion. He indulges without limit in vulgar abuse, and betrays in every sentence the intolerance and prejudice of the age. The first speech, replete with comprehensive argument, is delivered by the Jewish creditor, and is called "The Declamation;" the reply by the debtor is called "The Christian's Answer." The translation by Anthony Mundy, under the pseudonym of Lazarus Piot, "was written," says Douce, "before 1596, because it is mentioned by Francis Meeres in his *Palladio Tamia* in 1598, consequently the English version did not appear until after the production of *The Merchant of Venice.*"

THE NORTHERN LORD. An ancient ballad in four parts, "To a pleasant tune." In Percy's *Reliques of Antient Poetry:* also in Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Library.*

THE BOND STORY. An Egyptian version in the autobiography of Lutfullah. Eastwich edition, pp. 122-8.

ENSIGN THOMAS MUNRO'S MANUSCRIPT, given by Malone in his edition of Shakespeare. In Persian. Vol. v., p. 168.

THE BOND STORY. In Corrozet's "Divers propos memorables," &c., 1557. 12mo. P. 77. Translated under the title of *Memorable Conceits of divers noble and famous personages of Christendom,* &c. 1602.

THE BOND STORY. In "Apothegmes, ou la recreation de la Jeunesse." P. 155.

This story agrees with that related by Gracian in his *Hero;* vide Stevens's Shakespeare, 5th vol., p. 515.

THE BOND STORY. In *Tyron Recueil de plusières plaisantes nouvelles,* &c., Anvers. 1590.

Besides the foregoing versions of the "Bond Story" known in Shakespeare's time, are the following published in France after his death:—

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THE BOND STORY. In *Roger Bontemps en belle humeur*. In the *Trésor des récréations*. Douay, 1625. 18mo, p. 27.

THE BOND STORY. In the *Courier Facétieux*. Lyon, 1650. 8vo, p. 109.

THE BOND STORY. In the *Chasse ennuy*. 1645. 18mo, p. 49.

THE BOND STORY. In *Doctæ nugæ*. Gaudensij Jocosi, 1713. p. 23.

THE ROMAN WAGER.

The full text of the extraordinary wager contracted in Rome in 1585 between Paolo Maria Secchi, a Christian merchant, and Samson Cenada, a Jewish merchant. From Gregorio Leti's *Vita di Sisto Quinto*, published at Amsterdam in 1698.

"Si era sparsa la voce in Roma che Francesco Drago, Ammiralio Inglese della Regina Elisabetta, avea preso e sacchegiato la città di San Domenico, nell' Isola Spagniola, dove avea fatto grandissima preda; e questa nuova era prevenuta con particolar lettera al Signor Paolo Maria Secchi; mercante ricco ed auttorevole in Roma, che avea qualche interesse in quelle parti, e come avea in qualche maniera ancora per suo mallevadore un tal Giudeo, Sansone Cenada fattolo chiamare gli fece rapporto dell'aviso. Il Giudeo, di cui vi andava l'interesse à far conoscere falsa tal nuova, si diede a muover ragioni in contrario, e sia, che fosse transportate dalla propria passione, o che veramente si lasciaste persuadere che falso fosse l'aviso, o che pure a qualsisia prezzo volesse sostenère li suoi sentimenti, basta che si lasciò scappar di bocca la parola:—'Scometto una libra di carne del mio corpo che questo non è vero.' Che per dire il vero sono scomesse che sogliono farse da quei che son duri nel loro sentimento, cioè, 'Scometto la mia testa; Scometto una mano, e cose simili.' Secchi, ch'era un poco

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fiero o capriccioso, sentendo tal proposta rispose subito, 'Ed io scometterò mille scudi contro la vostra libra di carne che questo è vero.' Il Giudéo fù così ostinato e temerario nel suo sentimento, che nel punto istesso, stesa la mano, soggiunse; 'Ne saremo anche una scrittura se vuole'; ed il Secchi, assai umorista, senza più ritardo, in presenza di due testimonii, conchiuse un biglietto, il quale portava, 'Ch'essendo falsa la nuova che la città di San Domenico nell' Isola Spagniola sia stato presa dal Drago per un tal tempo, che il Signor Paolo Maria Secchi sarà obligato di pagare il Giudèo, Sansone Cenada, mille scudi in contanti di buona moneta; ed al contrario essendo vera, sara permesso al detto Secchi di tagliare con sua propria mano, e con suo coltello ben affiliato, una libra di carne del corpo d'esso Giudèo in quella parte lo stimerà, à proposito, e questo biglietto non solo venne sottoscritto di loro propria mano con doppia copia, ma di più da due testimonii, cioè da un Cristiano, e da un Giudèo, ambidue mercanti di qualche comodo.' La disgrazia per l'Ebrèo volle chi prima di trè mesi si verificò per indubitabile tal presa e sacco di tal città di modo che, tutto afflitto, avendo inteso che ostinamente gettava il Secchi di volergi tagliare una libra di carne, in virtù del compromesso, col scioglere quella parte che il lettore può intendere, e che la modestia non vuol che io nomini, gli fece offrire di pagarli mille scudi, che corrispondeva al prezzo della sua scomessa, mà il Secchi protestò con gran fierezza, e giuramento di voler che dal Giudèo si sodisfacesse all' obligo del biglietto, onde questo meschino corse al Governatore di Roma, con il disegno di fare obligare il Secchi à contentarsi di ricevere l'equivalente di mille scudi, il Governatore che sapeva molto bene quanto si compiacesse il Papa di dar sentenza egli stesso in cose di tal natura, andò ad informarlo del tutto, a così vennero chiamati ambidue in sua presenza, da cui lettosi il biglietto

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dell' obligazione, ed informato della lor bocca più ampiamente delle difficoltà rispose ; 'Quando si fanno scomesse bisogna osservale, e Noi intendiamo che da voi sia esattamente osservata la vostra. Pigliate dunque il vostro coltello tagliante, ed in nostra presenza tagliate al Giudeo una libra di carne in quella parte che vi piacerà del suo corpo : ma pigliate ben guardia al taglio, perche se ne tagliate una semplice dragma più o meno si darà contro di voi irremisibilmente sentenza di forche, che si prepari dunque il coltello, ed un paro di bilancio per l'esecuzione del tutto.' Nel udir tale sentenza il povero mercante, Secchi cominciò à tremar da capo à piedi, come se gli cominciasse la febbra quartana ; e baciando la terra innanzi i piedi del Papa, con amare lagrime negli occhi, faceva conoscere con tali gesti d'esser molto lontano dal pensiere d'una tal' esecuzione ; ed, in tanto, interrogato dal Papa di quello resòlvesse di fare, così lagrimente rispose :—' Son contento, Padre Santo ; nè altro domando che la sola benedizione della Santita vostra, e che si stracci il biglietto.' Rivolto poì al Giudeo gli disse :—' E tu, che cosa dice ? Sei tù ancora contento ?' Rispose l'infelice Giudeo che si stimava felice d'avere ottenuto una così favorevole sentenza, per l' impossibilità di tagliare in cose giusto peso ; 'Contentissimo Padre Santo !' Repplicò il Pontefice :— 'Ma Noi, non siamo contento ; nè il nostro Governatore, capo della nostra Giustizia. E da qual legge avete voi imparato di fare scommesse di tal natura ? Li sudditi de' Prencipi siano gli uomini che del mondo tutto non hanno che l'uso solo del loro corpo, ma non possono venderlo, nè in tutto, nè in parte, senza espressa licenza del sovrano.'

Vennero dunque condotti ambidue in prigione, e nel punto istesso ordinò al Governatore di Roma che per dare esempio ad altri di non impegnarsi à così scandalose scomesse, dovesse esercitar contro di loro l'ultimo rigore della

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giustizia. Non mancò il Governatore di rappresentarli, che veramente meritavano d'esser condannate ambidue in una emenda di mille scudi ciascuno ed à cui rispose Sisto ; 'E non altro ? Dunque sarà permesso ad un sudito di disponere della sua vita à suo piacere ? Non è forse vero che il Giudeo col permettere che se gli tagli una libra di carne del suo corpo, con un biglietto di sua mano, ha esposto la sua vita alla morte ? e questo non è un'essere omicida di se stesso ? Non è forse vero che il Secchi hà commesso un omicidio voluntario nel trattar prima, nel conchiudere poi, e nel voler finalmente eseguire la scomessa di tagliare una libra di carne d'al Giudeo ? Che si metterà forse in dubio da voi che tagliandosi la libra di carne d'al Giudeo, che non fosse infallibilmente morto visto il cattivo disegno dell'-altro nella natura del luogo che avea designato per il taglio ? Dunque ecco due omicidi voluntari, e questi si castigheranno nel nostro Ponteficato con una sola emenda ?'

Rispose a questo il Governatore che il Secchi protestava di non avere avuto pensiero alcuno d'eseguire il fatto, mà solo di far scorno, e paura al Giudeo ; e questo ancora testimoniava d'aver fatto tale scomessa perchè non credeva che fosse mai l'altro per venire al fatto. Ripliglio Sisto : 'Ma quelle proteste si sono fatte da che sono state le parli nella nostra presenza, e dal giudice, che vuol dire per timore della giustizia, e qual credito deve darsi ad una tal confessione ? Che vadino ambidue alle forche, che li dia la sentenza di morte, e nostra sara poi la cura di quello dovra farsi del resto.'

In somma vennero ambidue sentenziate alla testa, e la sentenza gli venne pronunziata come al solito ; la qual cosa messe in iscompiglio, ed in timore la città tutta ancor che nessuno ardisse qualifarcale ingiusta, prima perchè il Secchi aveva parenti molto onorevoli, e ricche, ed il Giudeo era di primi della lor Synagoga, di modo che gli uni, e gli altri

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cominciarono à ricorrere con memoriali, e preghiere appresso il Cardinale Montalto, per impenetrare almeno la grazia della vita. Il Pontefice non aveva veramente la voluntà di farli morire, mà solo volea accrescere à tutti del timore, acciò meglio imparassero gli altri a caminar drittamente, che però si lasciò voluntieri persuadere à mutar la sentenza della Testa a quella della Galera; con la liberta ad ogni modo di poterli riscattare anche da questa, mediante lo sborro ciascuno di due mila scudi, da essere applicati all'*Hospitale di Ponte Sisto* che sua Santita facea fabbricare di nuovo, mà però non prima che avessero la catena nel piede; e così pagato il denaro ebbero la libertà; e questa fù la prima grazia che fece questo Pontefice."

The Roman Wager.

An English version of the pound of flesh incident in Gregorio Leti's *Life of Sixtus V.*, partly by Ellis Farneworth, the translator of the biography (1754).

It was currently reported in Rome (1585) that Sir Francis Drake, the English admiral, had taken and plundered St. Domingo in Hispaniola, and had carried off an immense booty. This account had been forwarded in a private letter to Paul Maria Secchi, a rich Roman merchant, who had in those parts property which he had insured. Upon receiving the news he sent for the insurer, Samson Cenada, a Jew, and acquainted him with it. The Jew, whose interest it was to have such a report discredited, gave many reasons why it could not possibly be true, and at last worked himself up into such a passion that he cried, 'I'll lay you a pound of my flesh it is false.' Such kinds of wagers it is known are often proposed by people of strong passions to convince others that are incredulous or obstinate. Nothing is more common than to say, 'I'll lay my life on it,' 'I'll forfeit my right hand,'

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&c., &c. Secchi, who was of a hot temper, replied, 'I'll lay you a thousand crowns against your pound of flesh that it's true.' The Jew accepted the wager, and a contract was immediately executed between them, the substance of which was, that if Secchi won the wager he should himself cut the pound of flesh with a sharp knife from whatever part of the Jew's body he pleased. Unfortunately for the Jew the truth of the report was soon after confirmed by other advices from the West Indies, which threw him almost into distraction, especially when he was informed that the Christian Secchi had solemnly sworn that he would compel him to the exact literal performance of his contract, and was determined to cut a pound of flesh from that part of the body which it is unnecessary to mention. Upon this Cenada hastened to the Governor of Rome, and implored him to interpose in the affair, and use his authority with Secchi to prevail upon him to accept one thousand crowns as an equivalent for the pound of flesh. But the Governor did not dare to take upon himself the responsibility of determining a case of so uncommon a nature, and reported it to the Pope, who summoned the Jew and the Christian to his presence. Having read the articles, and heard the particulars of the matter from their own lips, Sixtus said, "When contracts are entered into it is just that they should be fulfilled, as we intend that this shall be. Take therefore a knife, Secchi, and cut a pound of flesh from any part of Cenada's body you please. We would counsel you, however, to be very careful, for if you cut but a scruple, or a grain, more or less than your due, you shall assuredly be hanged. Go, and bring hither a knife and a pair of scales, and let it be done in our presence." The Christian merchant at these words began to tremble from head to foot as if he had an ague-fit, and, throwing himself at the feet of his Holiness, protested, with

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tears in his eyes, that "it was far from his thoughts to insist upon the performance of the contract." Being asked by Sixtus what he demanded, he answered, "Nothing, Holy Father, but to obtain your benediction, and that the contract may be at once cancelled." Then turning to the Jew, Cenada, he enquired of him, "What he had to say, and whether he was content." The Jew replied that he thought himself extremely happy to come off at so easy a rate, and that he was perfectly satisfied. "But," exclaimed Sixtus, "we are not satisfied, nor are our laws satisfied. We desire to know by what authority you lay such wagers? We would have you to know that the subjects of Sovereign Princes are the property of the State, and that they have no right to dispose of their bodies, nor of any part of them, without the express license of their Sovereigns!" Both delinquents were at once sent to prison, and the Governor of Rome was commanded to proceed against them with the utmost severity of the law, in order that, by their example, others might be deterred from laying any more such wagers. The Governor, thinking to please the Pope, and willing to know what sort of punishment he had a mind should be inflicted upon them, said, "Doubtless they had been guilty of a great crime, and he thought that they deserved to be fined, each of them, a thousand crowns." "To be fined each of them a thousand crowns?" exclaimed Sixtus. "And do you think that penalty sufficient? What! shall any one of our subjects presume to dispose of his life without our permission? Is it not clear that the Jew has actually forfeited his life by consenting to have a pound of his flesh cut off? Is not this direct suicide? And is it not likewise true that the merchant is equally guilty of premeditated murder in making a contract with the other that he knew must be the occasion of his death if he insisted upon its performance, as it is said he did?

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Shall two such villains be let off by paying a simple fine?" The governor repeating that Secchi protested that he had not the least design of insisting upon the performance of the contract, and that Cenada did not at all imagine he would claim the forfeit when he lay the wager, Sixtus replied: "These protestations are only made out of fear of punishment, and because they are in our presence, and therefore no regard ought to be paid to them. Let them both be hanged! Do you pass that sentence upon them, and we will take care of the rest." In a word, they were both condemned to suffer death, to the great terror and amazement of the whole city, although none durst open his mouth to declare the sentence unjust.

As Secchi was a member of a very good Roman family, having many great friends and relations, and Cenada was one of the most distinguished men in the Jewish Synagogue, they both had recourse to petitions, and strong appeals were made to Cardinal Montalto, to intercede with the Pope, at least to spare their lives.

Sixtus, who had no real design to put the prisoners to death but who desired merely to deter others from such malpractices in future, at length consented to commute their death-sentence to that of the galleys, with liberty to buy off that punishment by the payment of 2,000 crowns each, to be applied to the *Hospital of the Bridge of Sixtus*, which was then being rebuilt by the Pope. This penalty was required to be paid by Secchi and Cenada before they were released from prison, and they were moreover ordered to be ignominiously kept with chains on their feet until the fine was paid. "This," says Gregorio Leti, "was the Pope's first act of grace."

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ADDENDA.

No. VII.

PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA.

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ADDENDA.

No. VII.

PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA.

BY her spontaneous and unanimous outburst of generous sympathy with the unutterable agony of the Jews of Russia and Poland, Christian England has increased her honour, presented a glorious example to civilised Europe, and won the great heart and everlasting gratitude of the Jewish people throughout the world. Christian Russia has outraged humanity, and has earned the execration of mankind. Christian England is ashamed of "Holy Russia," who has dishonoured their common Christianity by her savage treatment of the Czar's unoffending Jewish subjects. "In the moral and religious protests of a great and free people on behalf of justice and humanity there is a real and effective force," says the venerable Earl of Shaftesbury, "that will reach, no doubt, the ears of even the Emperor himself, and his responsible ministers. At any rate, it will be a relief and a comfort to show the whole world that the Christianity of this kingdom is a very different kind of thing from the, so-called, Christianity of Russia, and from that of some parts of Germany also." We read, upon incontestable and independent testimony, among other horrors almost too fearful for transcription, that at one

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place thirty Jewesses were outraged, and that through dread of a similar fate, young girls precipitated themselves from the windows. Meanwhile the military had been called out, but only to act at first as spectators, and afterwards as passive participators. We also read :—

"After a week's pause, a whole series of riots broke out, commencing on May 7th, at Smielo, near Czergassy, where 13 men were killed and 20 wounded, and 1,600 were left without homes. Next day, Sunday, May 8th, a most serious riot broke out at Kiew, once the capital of Russia, and still an important town, containing 20,000 Jews in a population of 140,000. Here the riot had been definitely announced for the Sunday, and the Jews sent a deputation to the Governor, requesting him to call out his soldiers to prevent disturbance. He bluntly refused, saying he would not 'trouble his soldiers for the sake of a pack of Jews.' During the riot which broke out on the day fixed, the police and the soldiers again acted the same part that that they had done at Elizabethgrad. The first procedure of the mob had been to storm the dram-shops, and, staving in the brandy casks, to wallow in the spirit. During the period of licence that followed, four Jews were killed, 25 women and girls were violated, of whom five died in consequence, as was proved at the subsequent trials. At the house of Mordecai Wienarski, the mob, disappointed in the search for plunder, caught up his little child three years old and brutally threw it out of the window. The child fell dead at the feet of a company of Cossacks who were drawn up outside, yet no attempt was made to arrest the murderers."

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We must search the darkest pages of mediæval history to find a parallel to such enormities as the foregoing graphically and truly describes. And when we reflect that they have been tacitly permitted to be enacted by a nation in such intimate alliance with the British Empire, at a distance of only three or four days journey from our own shores, it is impossible to find a limit to our horror, disgust, and wholesale condemnation. "The municipalities, with the connivance of the local governments, have taken every means in their power to add to the misery of the situation. With rough logic, they argued that, as these riots were directed against the Jews, if there had been no Jews, there would have been no riots. They accordingly petitioned the governors of their provinces to issue orders for the expulsion of the Jews from towns in which they had no legal right of domicile."

"It is certain," says the *Times* correspondent, "that the direct cause of the objection of the Russians to their Jewish fellow-citizens is the natural result of the Russian laws which restrict their rights and mark them off from the rest of the nation. It is the lesson taught by all experience, that the only solution of the Jewish question is the granting of full equality. It is absolutely certain that the whole body of Jews, forming one-eighth of the population amid which they dwell, cannot be accused of 'exploitation' or 'usury,' as imputed by the Rescript, the fact being that the chief industries of Russia are in the hands of the thrifty and hard-working Jews. Again, objection to innkeeping by Jews is clearly a gross injustice, seeing that statistics show drunkenness to be more prevalent

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in provinces where Jews do not reside. But, waiving all this, surely the poor women who had been violated, the little children who had been murdered, the farmers who had been robbed of their cattle and implements, could not be accused of these charges, and it was accordingly a refinement of cruelty to issue this document, teeming with animus, at a time when the passions of the mob had been raised against all Jews, without distinction of person, occupation, age, or sex. The Jewish question at the present moment is not whether the Jews should be prevented from competing with the Russians in certain trades, but whether the lives of three millions and a half of Jews shall be left at the mercy of the passions of the mob. A document like this, far from helping to solve the question, rather adds to its complexity, by showing clearly to the populace that the authorities share their prejudices. The appointments to commissions showed the same bias: at the head of the Kiew Commission was placed General Drudkoff, the Governor of Kiew, who initiated the proceedings of the first meeting by declaring 'either I or the Jews must go.' On another Commission was placed M. Chigaryne, whose only claim to be considered an expert on the Jewish question was that he had written a pamphlet entitled 'The annihilation of the Jews.'"

"At Odessa, the first Commission was dismissed because it had recommended the only true solution of the questions put by the Minister for the Interior, the granting to the Jews full equality of rights and equal liberty of settlement with their fellow-citizens of other creeds. A second Commission was thereupon

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appointed with views more in consonance with the spirit of the Rescript. When the Governor of Warsaw, Count Albidinski, was ordered to publish the circular, he at first refused, saying that Jews and Poles had always lived on such friendly terms that no Commission was necessary. He was, however, forced to publish the Rescript, and competent observers attribute the rise of anti-Semitic feeling in Warsaw mainly to this publication.

"These acts, and the tone of the circular itself, made clear to the Commissioners what was expected of them. They have accordingly made recommendations which will, if adopted, bring back all the horrors of the Middle Ages on the unfortunate Jews of Russia. Thus, among other proposals, they have advised that Jews should not be allowed to build synagogues or establish schools and orphan asylums; that they should not be permitted to reside in villages, nor own houses or landed property; that Jews should not lease factories or sell spirituous liquors, or be apothecaries. Beside this, it is rumoured that it is intended to restrict still further the right of domicile, and to allow no Jew to reside within eighty miles of the borders. In short, it seems to be the intention to make Russia an impossible home for the Jews, or perhaps even to doom them to complete extinction. The Russo-Jewish question may, therefore, be summed up in these words: Are three and a half millions of human beings to perish because they are Jews?"

It is clear that that mighty question can only receive a satisfactory response through the loud and earnest expression of the public opinion of civilised

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Europe. Thus far the powerful press of England, her Christian clergy, and her laity have deservedly earned the admiration not alone of the Jews and Christians of this country, but of mankind at large. No nation, however extensive and powerful it may be in territory and military force, can long withstand the might of an unanimous outburst of adverse public opinion. Although we have before us deeds, done and sanctioned by a European power, whose atrocity equals, if it does not surpass, the barbarous un-Christian acts of the darkest ages of ignorance and superstition; yet we must not forget that we are actually living in the nineteenth century, when the loud expression of public opinion is instantaneously flashed to every corner of the earth; when concealment of national crime is impossible, whatever may be the extent of gagging, despotic tyranny and coercion to which the press may be subjected.

The moderate, but dignified Memorial of the Jews of England on behalf of their suffering religious brethren in Russia and Poland has been refused transmission to the Czar; but it can hardly be doubted that that apparently adverse circumstance will impart a tenfold power to the document itself, whose words will find an echo in every generous heart, irrespective of country and creed.

The Requisition addressed to the Lord Mayor of London to call a public meeting at the Mansion House for the purpose of recording "a public expression of opinion respecting the persecution which the Jews of Russia have recently, and for some time suffered," is a document of remarkable and ever memorable signifi-

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cance. In no other country could be found so glorious an exhibition of unanimity among thirty-eight representative men of the highest eminence in the kingdom, of every phase and variety of religious and political thought, combining together for the purpose of asserting the divine principle of the just and equal rights of humanity, through the mouth of Christianity, on behalf of the cruelly persecuted Jewish subjects of a foreign sovereign. Every signature upon that Memorial—which will be found in the Appendix—reflects honour upon its writer and upon the country which gave him birth. It is a sublime example of concentrated moral force when men of such diverse opinions as we find represented on the Mansion House Requisition will consent to merge for a time all their differences, in order to effect a great good to a suffering unoffending people of an opposite religious creed.

When Sir Moses Montefiore returned ten years ago (1872) from his noble mission to the late Emperor of Russia, he addressed the following report to the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews, of which he was then president:—"It will doubtless be a source of high gratification to your Board to learn that during my short stay at St. Petersburg I had the happiness of seeing a considerable number of our co-religionists in that city distinguished by decorations of different grades from the Emperor. I conversed with Jewish merchants, literary men, editors of Russian periodicals, artisans, and persons who had formerly served in the Imperial army, all of whom alluded to their present position in the most satisfactory terms. All blessed the Emperor, and words

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seemed wanting in which adequately to praise his beneficence. The Jews now dress like any gentlemen in England, France, or Germany; their schools are well attended, and they are foremost in every enterprise destined to promote the prosperity of their community and the country at large."

It will be observed in my "Survey of noteworthy events marking Jewish progress during the past half century," that in 1839 the Czar of Russia ordained that "to his Jewish subjects of high personal merit, who had rendered benefits to the Russian Empire in science, art, trade, or manufactures, might be granted the title of 'Citizen of the first class.'" It will be seen in the same "Survey" that the Emperor's Jewish subjects received subsequently again and again significant recognition of their progress, and encouragement towards still further improvement of their then condition. I would ask how and why that promising condition has so entirely changed? To read now of the Jews of Russia from inimical sources it would appear that they entirely consist of "spirit sellers," "usurers," "pedlars," and people of the lowest class, all occupied in degrading pursuits, in which, nevertheless, they prosper to the disadvantage of their less intellectual Christian brethren. It may be taken for granted that Russian and Polish Jews are not more free from vices and malpractices than Russian and Polish Christians; and that in a population of three millions and a half of Jewish souls spread throughout Russia and her Polish provinces will be naturally found as many ill-conditioned and obnoxious persons as would be found in an equally large number of

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so-called Christian populations. But are they for this reason, even if it were true—which is more than doubtful—to be massacred, and outraged, and robbed? Are they for this cause to have their women dishonoured, their children dashed to death, their dwellings burnt, their synagogues desecrated, and, moreover, to be despoiled of all their worldly possessions, and to be turned adrift in their hundreds of thousands upon the cold inhospitable world beggared and dishonoured? And this in the nineteenth century! "They never fail," said Macaulay, "to plead in justification of persecution the vices which persecution has engendered. We drive them to mean occupations, and then we reproach them for not embracing honourable professions."

A brave defender of "Holy Russia," and a traducer of Jews, alike modern and ancient—an implacable foe of Jews and Judaism—attributed, a few years ago, the poverty of the Russian Empire to her large Jewish population. Blinded by malevolence he had failed to notice the patent fact that those countries have been most prosperous in which Jews are domiciled; and that Spain no longer flourished when her industrious and intellectual Jewish population was banished from the kingdom by Ferdinand and Isabella in the fifteenth century.

Dean Milman, the Jewish historian, writes thus of the Jewish people: "Patient and indefatigable, the Jews pursue under every disadvantage their steady course of industry; and wherever they have been allowed to dwell unmolested, or still more in honour and respect, they have added largely to the stock of wealth."

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There is only one effectual remedy to correct all the evils of which Russia complains in respect to her Jewish population, and that is to grant them equal rights with their Christian countrymen, and to bestow upon them entire freedom to pursue in any part of the Empire whatever vocation their tastes and abilities may lead them to. This "consummation devoutly to be wished" can hardly be expected in this generation from a country formed of such diverse elements as Christian Russia—herself only recently emancipated from serfdom; but, at any rate, it should be expected from a professedly Christian Empire that entire protection should be ensured to her Jewish subjects for their lives, their liberties, their honour, and their property. It must be remembered how long and arduous was the struggle even in enlightened England to obtain for British-born Jews their civil and political rights. We must not, therefore, expect impossibilities from Russia, a nation so far in the rear of England as regards education and civilisation. That Russia may drive her Jewish subjects from the Empire, however barbarous the act, may be possible, or, still worse, that she may retain them within the Empire subject to severe oppressive restrictions, but that she can ever, by any means within her power, exterminate, or despoil the Russian Jews of their ancient religion, is wholly impossible. In the Appendix to this paper will be found, from a variety of writers and speakers of authority, all that may be necessary to render intelligible the present most unhappy, most cruel condition of the Jews of Russia. It will be seen hereafter what potent influence the spontaneous, fearless,

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straightforward, honest expression of Public Opinion at the Mansion House Meeting, held on the 1st of February, and also within the walls of Parliament, may have upon the Russian Government, in whose responsible hands now rests the actual and future protection of the Russian and Polish Jews from further aggression, outrage, rapine and slaughter. Should Russia be indisposed, or unable to secure protection to the Jews of that country under reasonable and humane conditions, it is to be hoped that she will, at all events, assist them to emigrate to more hospitable climes. It is with a sad heart that I leave my Russian and Polish brothers and sisters in faith in their present perilous position. Let Christian England imagine what would be her feelings if an immense colony of English Christians were placed in similar perilous circumstances in a country beyond the control or power of the British Empire!

February, 1882.

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APPENDIX.

I.

RUSSIAN ATROCITIES.

From THE TIMES, *January* 11*th*, 1882.

WE publish in another column an account of the persecution of the Jews in Russia, which will, we believe, come as an unpleasant and humiliating surprise upon the people of this country. We have no political interest in the domestic affairs of the Empire of the Czar, but the common instincts of generosity and kindness cannot remain untouched in presence of such facts as those set forth in the statement we print to-day. It is no business of ours to arraign the Russian Government for its apparent indifference to abominations as hideous as those which were used to excite the public opinion of Europe against the Ottoman dominion in 1876. We cannot for a moment believe that the Czar or his Ministers have been concerned, actively or passively, in the outbreaks of barbarism that have disgraced Russia during the past twelve months. But the fact remains that those outbreaks have taken place, and have inflicted upon the Jews, who have either suffered from them or who have by chance escaped them, an agony of moral and physical terror which it would be difficult to exaggerate. The sub-

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ject is a painful one, but it can only be dealt with by the public opinion of Europe. If the subjects of the Czar are as little capable of restraining themselves within the bounds of decency and humanity as the subjects of the Sultan, they must expect to take their share in the contemptuous condemnation of the civilised world which hastened the political downfall of the Turkish power.

It would be difficult, and probably useless, to analyse the causes of the hatred with which the Jews are regarded in Russia, but whatever the origin of the sentiment, it is a scandal to civilisation.

* * * * * *

We do not care to contest the allegation that the Jews in Russia are, on the whole, an objectionable set of people. It is alleged—not only by newspapers which pander to the popular feeling, but by officials of high rank and responsibility—that they addict themselves by preference to discreditable and injurious trades. They are said to monopolise the low drinking shops and disorderly houses in the chief towns of Russia. The advocates of the Jews may have a great deal to set off against these allegations. They may be able to show that the Jews in Russia—as is certainly the case elsewhere—are among the most energetic and enterprising of the traders, the manufacturers, and the professional classes. But, however this may be, the right of the Jews to be protected against outrage is indefeasible.

We feel, of course, that it would be unjust to hold any Government, in Russia or elsewhere, responsible for occasional outbreaks of popular frenzy. It becomes, however, a more serious matter when outrages of the most abominable character—including murder, plunder, the violation of women, and the wholesale destruction of property—have been perpetrated over a wide area, after full notice and in the presence of military forces amply suffi-

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cient to put down any serious disturbance. Attacks upon the Jews here and there may be explicable, but the "Jew-hunting" in Russia has gone on for months, and the authorities are either unable or unwilling to cope with it. If they are unable, we may be sure that the popular passions that have been aroused will not stop short with the Jews. If they are unwilling, the Russian Government must be held morally responsible for all the crimes—some of them as atrocious as any recorded in history—which have been accomplished by letting loose the hatred of orthodox mobs.

We do not wish to dwell upon particular incidents in the tale of horror which our correspondent sends us. In the interests of truth and justice we publish it, but it is too painful and too gross to be an attractive subject for comment. There is not, we hope, any patriotic Russian who will not feel moved by a sense of shame and indignation when he learns that his country has been held up to infamy in the sight of the civilised world by carnage, pillage, and outrage such as Western Europe has not known since the worst days of mediæval anarchy. Unless the Russian Government takes measures—such, at least, as are still possible—to remove this foul stain from the national escutcheon, we may rest assured that disgust and disloyalty will grow up together and will sap the strongest fortifications of Absolutism.

* * * * * * *

In common prudence—if not for the sake of order and humanity—it is necessary for the Russian Government to put an end to these enormities. If they are permitted to go on—and as yet we are not aware that any effectual check has been put upon them—they will disastrously lower the credit and standing of Russia among civilised nations, and they will, at the same time, expel from the Russian social

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system an element which, however it may be criticised, and whatever may be its alloy of weakness and baseness, is too full of energy and strength not to be sorely missed by a mixed population of Slavs, Finns, and Tartars.

Ever since the German anti-Semites had raised an outery against their Jewish fellow-citizens," says the *Times* correspondent, "it had been feared that the movement would spread to Russia, and there take a form more adapted to the less civilised state of the country. When, therefore, the assassination of the Czar on March 3rd of last year had roused all Russia to the highest pitch of excitement, it was confidently predicted that the approaching Easter would see an outbreak against the Jews. It was said afterwards that the prediction was aided in its fulfilment by Panslavist emissaries from Moscow, who planned all the subsequent troubles. It is at least certain that rumours of a rising had reached Elizabethgrad, and caused the heads of the Jewish community, who form a third of its 30,000 inhabitants, to apply for special protection from the Governor. No notice was taken of the appeal, and on Wednesday, April 27th, the dreaded outbreak took place. A religious dispute in a *cabaret* led to a scuffle, which grew into a general *mêlée*, till the mob obtained possession of the dram-shop and rifled it of its contents. Inflamed by the drink thus obtained, the rioters proceeded to the Jewish quarter, and commenced a systematic destruction of the Jewish shops and warehouses. At first some attempt was made by the Jews to protect their property; but this only served to increase the violence of the mob, which proceeded to attack the dwellings of the Jews, and to wreck the synagogues. Amid the horrors that ensued a Jew named Zololwenski lost his life, and no fewer than thirty Jewesses were outraged. At one place, two young girls, in dread of violation, threw them-

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selves from the windows. Meanwhile the military had been called out, but only to act at first as spectators and afterwards as active participators. One section of the mob, formed of rioters and soldiers, broke into the dwelling of an old man named Pelikoff, and on his attempting to save his daughter from a fate worse than death, they threw him down from the roof, while twenty soldiers proceeded to work their will on his unfortunate daughter. When seen by the correspondent who narrates this fact, Pelikoff was in a state of hopeless madness, and his daughter completely ruined in mind and body. The whole Jewish quarter was at the mercy of the mob till April 29th. During the two days of the riots, 500 houses and 100 shops were destroyed, whole streets being razed to the ground. It may be added that the property destroyed and stolen was reckoned at 2,000,000 roubles.

* * * * * *

The outrages we have recounted above, though, no doubt, the most important, are far from including all the similar events that have occurred during the past year. They have been selected from a list of over 160 towns and villages in which cases of riot, rapine, murder, and spoliation have been known to occur during the last nine months of 1881. Out of these information was collected from about 45 towns and villages in Southern Russia. In these alone are reported 23 murders of men, women, and children, 17 deaths caused by violation, and no fewer than 225 cases of outrages on Jewesses.

Such have been the horrors that throughout the past year have assailed the 3,000,000 Israelites who inhabit Russia. Nor is there any indication that the atrocities will cease during the present year, unless the Russian Government will intervene in the sacred cause of civilisation and humanity.

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II.

Letter of Mr. Serjeant Simon, M.P., *to the* Editor *of* The Times.

Sir,—Your correspondent rightly sums up the case of the Russian Jews with the question, "Are three millions and a half of human beings to perish because they are Jews?" This question may be supplemented by another, "Will the Christian people of England consent to be silent witnesses?" In 1876 there was one loud outcry of horror and indignation at the Bulgarian atrocities. Every crime which was committed upon the unfortunate Christians then has been repeated now upon the Jews of Russia in forms as hideous, and upon a much larger scale. For nine months, in no less than 160 towns and villages, Jews have been pillaged, beaten and murdered; their houses sacked and burnt, their property destroyed, their infants dashed from the windows, or left to perish in the flames of burning houses, their women been dishonoured, death or madness ensuing in many cases, Russian women assisting and encouraging the men in their foul crime: 100,000 families left in utter destitution. Such is the catalogue of dark deeds committed, and of miseries inflicted during the period mentioned, in a country about three days journey from England that claims to rank as one of the great civilised nations of Europe. The accounts which have appeared, especially in *The Times*, all go to show that what has taken place was deliberately planned and systematically carried out. Yet the Government was passive, and, as it would seem, took no step to prevent or to check these proceedings. It is impossible otherwise to account for the inertness of the provincial and local authorities generally, both civil and military, for the positive refusal in some cases to afford protection to the Jews when it was asked for, and for the

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actual participation of the soldiers and police in some places with the mob in their acts of brutality and plunder. The Government, moreover, have since done nothing to trace the source of the evils and to bring the ringleaders to justice. There have been some arrests, some trials, and some persons sent to prison; but this show of justice may be appreciated when it is mentioned that among the offenders punished were some Jews (at Odessa) who were found with pistols, which they had carried for self-defence during the attack there. They have been punished for "carrying arms without a licence!" The Government has issued Commissions of Inquiry; but not for the purpose of affording redress to the Jews and of improving their condition. On the contrary. The Commissions are, to all appearance, intended to afford their enemies the opportunity of showing them up as evildoers and the authors of their own wrong, and to avert public censure from the Russian Government and justify them in imposing further restrictions upon the miserable Jews. One of these Commissions (that in Kherson) has already prepared its "recommendations." They breathe the savage spirit of barbarism. Among the recommendations are the following:—That the Jews shall not be allowed to erect new synagogues or to worship in those already existing. They are not to worship even in private in any way that shall give the semblance of a synagogue to the places where they may happen to assemble. They are not to be allowed to have schools of their own; they are to send their children to the public schools, but the children are not to be allowed to partake of the higher education there; they are not to possess land either as owners or lessees, or to follow agricultural pursuits; they are to be excluded from every respectable class of business, even the inferior ones which some of them have hitherto followed. They are, in fact, to

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be restricted to the meanest pursuits. It remains to be seen whether these recommendations, or any of them, will be adopted. If adopted, even in part, the fate of a Jew in Russia, bad as it has been, will hereafter be one of misery. It is but as yesterday that Russia stood forth as the disinterested champion of freedom and the deliverer of Christians from Turkish tyranny. She has now to justify herself for her cruel treatment of her Jewish subjects—treatment continued through long, long years, which has rendered them objects of dislike and contempt, culminating in the late outbreaks, and which has generated, if they exist, the vices alleged as reasons for their persecution. These alleged vices form no part of the Jewish character. They are not found in the Jews of England, France, or any country where they enjoy equal rights with their fellow-men. Let the Russian Government and the Russian people lay this fact to heart. They stand at this moment arraigned before the conscience of enlightened Europe. They are responsible to Christendom for the stain they have inflicted upon the Christian name. They have offended civilisation and insulted humanity. The issue is one of civilisation against barbarism. It is for Russia to make her election.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

Reform Club, Jan. 13, 1882. JOHN SIMON.

III.

The Memorial of the London Committee of Jews to His Imperial Majesty the EMPEROR OF RUSSIA *on behalf of their persecuted brethren in Russia—rejected by the Russian Ambassador.*

PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA.

A memorial from the Jews of England on behalf of their oppressed brethren in Russia was on Friday last handed to

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Prince Lobanoff, the Russian Ambassador, for transmission to the Emperor of Russia. The Prince, however, as was stated in *The Times* of Tuesday, acting under instructions from his Government, declined to transmit the memorial.

The document was signed and presented in person by Sir Nathaniel M. de Rothschild, M.P., as chairman of a committee that has been specially appointed by the representatives of the Jewish community in this country to deal with the Russo-Jewish question. The committee consists of the following members :—Sir N. M. de Rothschild, M.P., Baron Henry de Worms, M.P., Mr. Serjeant Simon, M.P., Mr. Arthur Cohen, Q.C., M.P., Sir Julian Goldsmid, Baron George de Worms, Hon. Saul Samuel, Rev. Dr. Hermann Adler (delegate of the Chief Rabbi), Rev. A. L. Green, Rev. A. Löwy, Dr. A. Asher, Messrs. Benjamin L. Cohen, Lionel L. Cohen, Lewis Emanuel, Ellis A. Franklin, Alf. Goldsmid, Henry Harris, Alfred G. Henriques, Nathan S. Joseph, Fred. D. Mocatta, Samuel Montagu, Morris S. Oppenheim, Isaac Seligman, Leopold Schloss, and Joseph Sebag.

The following is the full text of the memorial :—

"To His Imperial Majesty Alexander III., Emperor of All the Russias.

"The humble memorial of the Jews of England on behalf of the Jews of Russia.

"May it please your Imperial Majesty,—

"A grievous cry of suffering has reached us from our brethren in faith in many parts of your Majesty's great Empire.

"For the past nine months large numbers of your Majesty's Jewish subjects, especially those residing in the southern provinces of your Majesty's dominions, have been the victims of serious civil outbreaks. The security of life and property, so many years enjoyed by them, has vanished.

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Murder, rapine, and pillage have taken its place. The most terrible deeds of violence have been perpetrated on helpless women and children. Unarmed and unoffending men have become a prey to the fury of a brutal mob. The survivors, scarcely more fortunate than the slain, live only to find their homes devastated or burnt, their fortunes wrecked, and their means of subsistence gone.

"Great, indeed, is our horror at these atrocities, but greater still, we feel certain, must be your gracious Majesty's pain and indignation at the sufferings thus inflicted on thousands of your subjects.

"Until last year Jews and Christians throughout your Majesty's empire lived on terms of amity rarely, if ever, disturbed. No act of the Jews has been committed to warrant the interruption of the friendly attitude of their neighbours or the goodwill of their rulers. Your Jewish subjects love and honour your Majesty, and in their homes and synagogues pray for your welfare. They respect the laws and pay the State its just dues. They serve your Majesty in peace and war, even without hope or chance of promotion, and willingly lay down their lives for the country that has given them birth, and that has hitherto protected them. In truth, they are commanded by our sacred books to promote the welfare of the land which shelters them; to obey its laws, to honour its rulers, and to love, as themselves, their neighbours, though differing in faith; and the Israelites, acting in conformity with those precepts, are innocent of cause for the oppression that has befallen them.

"We have reason to believe that in most cases it has not been the honest, law-abiding neighbours of the Jews who have originated or perpetrated these lamentable excesses, but professional agitators from a distance, acting upon the turbulent and revolutionary spirits, the enemies of law, loyalty, and order. No better proof of this can be

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afforded than the fact that the ringleaders have in many localities, with an audacity and shamelessness unparalleled in history, traitorously used the august name of your Majesty as a warrant for their infamous projects, and have published a forged ukase purporting to authorise the general spoliation of the Jews.

"But we fear the cup of affliction of our brethren is not yet full, for the future appears even blacker than the past. For now the enemies of our brethren seek to palliate the atrocities that have been perpetrated, falsely declaring the Jews to have merited their persecution by their own misconduct, by their odious mode of trading, and by their having over-reached their neighbours; and these enemies endeavour to induce the Government of your Majesty to impose upon all Israelites such new restrictions as to residence, occupation, and education, as will not only prevent their fairly competing with their Christian fellow-subjects, but will practically prevent their becoming useful citizens and servants of the State, and will even debar them from earning their subsistence.

"We have heard with alarm and grief that commissions have been issued with instructions couched in terms of opprobrium and hostility, teeming with charges, assumed but not true, which would render impossible any result favourable to the Jews. The worst effects are, therefore, apprehended. Even in Poland, where the Israelites have ever dwelt on terms of good fellowship with their neighbours, and where, until the lamentable events of last month, they have always enjoyed immunity from outrage of any kind, like commissions have been issued, with similar instructions, so that everywhere, throughout your Majesty's dominions, the populace seems to imagine that it has the Imperial sanction for its ill-treatment of our brethren, an idea which, we are convinced, could never have been, how-

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ever faintly, conceived by the benignant and humane spirit of your Majesty.

"Already, deplorable results have ensued from the terms in which these commissions have been issued. For many local authorities, in anticipation of the reports of the commission, have put in force certain ancient laws of domicile, which have fallen into desuetude, and have forcibly driven the Jews, still smarting from their recent calamities, away from the towns and villages which they have so long been permitted to inhabit; while others, perhaps, a little less inhuman, have allowed them to remain, only on condition of their being pent up within the limits of their ancient ghettos.

"With regard to the imputations that have been made upon your Majesty's Jewish subjects, we humbly submit to your Majesty that whatever exceptional social position they may occupy, or whatever failings may be charged to some of them, these are due mainly to the exceptional laws to which they have been so long subjected.

"If, in some places, undue activity has characterised their conduct in certain trades and occupations, we believe it to be because other means of earning a subsistence have been denied them, because they have been too crowded in particular localities, and have, therefore, experienced the greatest difficulty in gaining a livelihood.

"We feel certain that if the special laws affecting the Jews were abolished, their exceptional *status*, social and civil, would come to an end. Complaint would no longer be heard of their undue commercial and economic activity operating to the detriment of others, if the Jews were suffered to disperse themselves at will, so as to become merged amid their fellow-subjects, instead of being concentrated, to the injury of themselves and others, in over-crowded hives of industry.

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"Here in England, where perfect civil and religious equality has been granted to us, we English Jews can bear grateful testimony to the happy results effected by such complete emancipation. Here all those restrictions, civil, commercial, and educational, which formerly oppressed us, have happily been removed, and, as a result, Jew and Christian here live and work side by side on terms of mutual respect and good fellowship, engaged in friendly rivalry, which stimulates public industry, and adds to the common weal.

"And so, Sire, may it be in the mighty empire whose destinies you wield with wisdom and enlightenment. For, as the late Emperor, your father, of sainted memory, rendered his name immortal as the emancipator of millions of serfs, even so it may be your Majesty's high destiny to give life and protection to those now trembling on the verge of destruction, to give equal rights to the millions of your loyal Jewish subjects, who, in their dread emergency, look up to you, Sire, Emperor and father of your people, only for leave to live with home and hearth secure from violence.

"Humbly do we present this memorial to your Majesty on behalf of our brethren, in the name of Humanity—the foundation of all religion; in the name of Justice—the heritage of all; in the name of Mercy—the prerogative of Imperial power.

"And we shall ever pray that the Supreme King of Kings may bless the efforts of your Majesty for the glory of your mighty empire and the well-being of your subjects; and that he may grant your Majesty a long, and prosperous, and happy reign.

"Signed on behalf of the Jews of England, this 19th day of January, 1882. "N. M. DE ROTHSCHILD."

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IV.

The Requisition to the LORD MAYOR of London.

"January 21, 1882.

"To the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of the City of London.

My Lord,—We, the undersigned, consider that there should be a public expression of opinion respecting the persecution which the Jews of Russia have recently and for some time past suffered. We, therefore, ask your Lordship to be so good as to call, at your earliest convenience, a public meeting for that purpose at the Mansion House, and that you will be good enough to take the chair on the occasion."

Signed by

His Grace the LORD ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY.
The Right Hon. the EARL of SHAFTESBURY, K.G.
The Right Hon. LORD SCARSDALE.
The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP of GLOUCESTER and BRISTOL.
The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP of OXFORD.
Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE. M.P.
The Hon. W. ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M.P.
Sir ARTHUR OTWAY, Bart., M.P.
Alderman Sir JAMES CLARKE LAWRENCE, Bart., M.P.
Sir ERASMUS WILSON, F.R.S.
The Rev. the MASTER of BALLIOL.
The Rev. Canon SPENCE, M.A.
The Rev. H. R. HAWEIS, M.A.
CHARLES DARWIN, Esq., F.R.S.
MATTHEW ARNOLD, Esq., F.R.S.
HENRY RICHARD, Esq., M.P.
CHARLES MAGNIAC, Esq., M.P.

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Mr. Alderman LAWRENCE, M.P.
F. A. INDERWICK, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
His Eminence Cardinal MANNING.
The Right Hon. and Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP of LONDON.
The Right Hon. Lord MOUNT-TEMPLE.
The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP of MANCHESTER.
The Right Hon. Lord ELCHO, M.P.
The Hon. F. LEVESON-GOWER, M.P.
The Right Hon. J. G. HUBBARD, M.P.
Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P., F.R.S.
Sir DONALD CURRIE, K.C.M.G., M.P.
The Very Rev. the DEAN of PETERBOROUGH, D.D.
The Rev. Canon FARRAR, D.D.
The Rev. W. PAGE ROBERTS, M.A.
The Rev. JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D.
Professor TYNDALL, F.R.S.
SAMUEL MORLEY, Esq., M.P.
MICHAEL BIDDULPH, Esq., M.P.
Mr. Alderman COTTON, M.P.
ALEXANDER MCARTHUR, Esq., M.P.
C. A. MCLAREN, Esq., M.P.

V.

At the great meeting held by the Lord Mayor of London at the Mansion House, on February 1st, 1882, with reference to the Persecution of the Jews in Russia, the following speeches were delivered.

The Right Hon. the EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, K.G., said :—

The Lord Mayor has rightly described the purpose and character of this meeting. It is, perhaps, special

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and peculiar in its character. There may be or there may not be a precedent for such a meeting, but I hold that in these days of what are called the solidarity of nations and enlarged responsibilities and the greatly increased force of public opinion, if there be no precedent, it ought to be established on this very day. (Hear, hear.) I am very glad that the people of England have come forward to make a solemn declaration that, in their belief, there are moral as well as material weapons; that the moral weapons, in the long run, are the more effectual and the more permanent; and that it is our duty to resort to those moral weapons when for the use of the material we have neither the right nor the power. I dare say we shall be asked, "What is the purpose of all your movement? Your document or memorial, if there be one, will be cast aside and thrown into the waste-paper basket." That may be the fate of any document we present; that will not be the fate of the spirit of that document; that spirit will survive and will work its effect upon the hearts of all who can feel or think. I have a very strong feeling, and we all have an opinion, as to the power of any constantly repeated affirmation of a great principle founded upon justice and humanity; it carries with it a prodigious weight. Have we not seen in times past the marvellous influence produced by a manifestation of public opinion founded on such attributes? Even the Sultan of Turkey succumbs to it, and the Shah of Persia, in the very plenitude of his power, yields to it. The First Napoleon, as we read in the memoirs of Madame de Staël, would not suffer her to come to Paris, lest she should draw the world away from him. Was the powerful Emperor Nicholas indifferent to public opinion, and especially the opinion of England? I know, from conversations held with him by one of my most intimate friends, that the Emperor Nicholas felt deeply and acutely

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the opinion of England, and shall we not hope and believe that he who now sits upon the throne of all the Russias will feel the influence of the public voice as much as his predecessor? I believe it is so; I believe it is far beyond his power to resist it; I believe, in the words of Richard Hooker in relation to Divine law, that the very least feel its influence, and the greatest are not exempt from its power. It is not necessary to dwell in detail upon the horrible circumstances of the events that have occurred in Russia, marked as they have been by murder, lust, rapine, and destruction. They have been set before the world in the columns of *The Times* and in other papers. The narratives have been supported by every testimony that could possibly be adduced, and especially by that wise, touching, and unanswerable memorial presented by the Jews' Committee. We followed the details with horror and disgust, and we come here for the purpose of expressing our opinion, and of praying that a stop may be put to atrocities that have disgraced the generation in which we live. To the statements made denials have been offered, and denials coming from official authorities. Of course it was to be expected that should be so; but I conclude from all I have read and heard that the evidence in support of the charges is so overwhelming as to remove all hesitation in believing that they are substantially true. If it be said there is exaggeration, I will give the full benefit of the doubt; but if one-tenth of all that is stated be true it is sufficient to draw down the indignation of the world. There are not only denials, but there are attempts at refutation in those quasi-official documents, which are as truly official as anything that ever came out of the Russian Chancellery; and the authors proceed to cast imputations, and to say that in this movement the people of England are animated by an affected philanthropy, that their object is to set Eng-

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lish and Russian Society by the ears, and that the movement has the party object of disturbing the peace and happiness of the Cabinet of Mr. Gladstone. (Laughter.) Of all the wild assertions ever made these are the very wildest. Look at the signatures to the requisition; the majority of those whose names are there are not animated by venom and anger against the Prime Minister. If this case were not so serious and appalling I should say that these insinuations were childish and contemptible. Those who make them know the fact and feel it; they know very well that this is a free meeting of free citizens (cheers), and that we come here to express our deep regard for the rights of the human race. It is not simply because those who are persecuted are Jews that we are met here; Englishmen would feel the same sympathy equally for Buddhists, Mahomedans, or Pagans. I know that many have a deep and special feeling towards the Hebrew race; I have it myself; but we are met here upon one grand, universal principle. If there be one thing on earth an Englishman loves better than another it is freedom; he desires that every one should be as free and as happy as he is himself. (Cheers.) We must clear the ground of another charge, for it is said in one of these quasi-official documents that this movement arises out of hatred of Russia. I do not believe it; I will take upon myself to say that the feeling of the great mass of the people of England is one neither of hate nor of fear towards the Russian people. (Cheers.) As for any hatred of Russia in my own case, let me remind you that when a meeting was held to protest against the outrages committed on the wretched Bulgarians I occupied the chair, and I made a statement which I have not retracted, and which I am not going to retract. I did not fear at that time to say that I almost wished to see the Russians on the shores of the Bosphorus. So far from there being

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a feeling of hatred towards Russia on the part of the mass of our people, I believe their feeling is precisely the reverse. I am satisfied that in this kingdom at the present time there is a feeling of deep sympathy with the people of Russia and with their ruler in the terrible calamities that have fallen upon their city and upon the Imperial family. When the late Emperor fell by the hands of the demoniacal assassins the whole country was filled with horror and dismay, which was expressed as with the voice of one man, not only because the people were appalled by the frightful crime, but because they remembered that the father of the present Emperor was the glorious emancipator of two millions of slaves. (Cheers.) And, after all, if we approach the present Emperor, what are we asking for? Are we asking anything to abate his dignity or to lower his power? Nay, on the contrary, are we not asking him to do that which will conduce very much to his honour? Are we not asking him to do justice to a large body of his loyal and suffering people? Are we only asking him to restrain violence, murder, outrage, and spoliation? Are we not asking him to be a Cyrus to the Jews and not an Antiochus Epiphanes? Are we not asking him to enter upon the greatest and noblest exercise of power to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free? These are the purpose and object of our meeting; this will be the prayer of our memorial, and may God in His mercy prosper it to the removal of those horrors and to the comfort of the Jewish people, on whose behalf we are gathered together! (Loud cheers.) His Lordship concluded by moving, "That, in the opinion of this meeting, the persecution and the outrages which the Jews in many parts of the Russian dominion have for several months past suffered, are an offence to civilisation to be deeply deplored."

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Speech of the Right Rev. the BISHOP OF LONDON—

My Lord Mayor,—One circumstance alone justifies me in rising at your request to second the resolution before such a meeting as this, which I am quite unfitted to address in the presence of those I see around me, and that one circumstance is the unavoidable absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. I quite admit—indeed, I deeply feel—that the Church of England ought not, and I am sure will not, be backward in joining in the expression of a feeling of indignant sorrow at the statements which have come before us lately with regard to the treatment of the Jews in Russia. In the absence of the Archbishop, it might not be presumptuous in me, the Bishop of the most populous and most important diocese in England (hear, hear), if I venture, in the absence of anyone more fit, to second the resolution. Happily, no words from me are needed. The case has been stated to you by the noble earl with a vigour which shows that age has not diminished his powers of speech (cheers) any more than it has extinguished or ever can extinguish his sympathy with suffering and his sense of indignation at injustice and wrong. (Renewed cheers.) The facts can scarcely be denied. If they could have been denied, what need for all those reasons which have been assigned why the English people should not have been so moved at reading of those atrocities? If the Russian Government had been able to say that the statements could be proved to be false, it need not allege that the English are afraid of Russia, and that we desire to turn out the Ministry. We have seen in the papers an attempt, hardly to deny the facts, but certainly to palliate them by excuses not only improbable, but utterly inadequate, and set before us, I may say, with a cynical indifference which one would be very reluctant to believe had been traced by the hand of a female. (Cheers.) There is one circumstance in those atrocities which must

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make every member of the Church, indeed, every Christian feel, together with his indignation, a certain shame. A few years back our country was horrified with accounts of atrocities committed in what were then provinces of the Turkish empire. The country was moved, but it had the consolation of knowing that though the sufferers were Christians the perpetrators were almost all of another creed. Now, alas! the case is the reverse; they who perpetrated these outrages are men who bear the name of Christians, so that the persecution of the Middle Ages, on which history has long set the stamp of reprobation, has been reproduced in this latter part of the 19th century, and the dark stain of rapine, lust, and murder is let fall again upon the fair fame of Christianity. (Cheers.) We do feel this; but I will venture to say that not in this crowded room alone, not in this metropolis merely, not in the cities and large towns of England only are the sympathy and horror felt which have been expressed before you and which called you together to-day, but in the quiet parsonages and in the most retired villages throughout England there is the same feeling of mingled horror, grief, and shame that now, in an age of civilisation, in the days when we think ourselves, and certainly are, better than our fathers in some respects, we find a Christian nation persecuting the Jews. (Cheers.) Knowing this, my Lord Mayor, I venture to assume, speaking here from this platform, that I may without presumption, or if it be presumption it will be easily pardoned, in the name of every member of the Church of England second the resolution which Lord Shaftesbury has proposed. (Loud cheers.)

Speech of His Eminence CARDINAL MANNING—

My Lord Mayor, Ladies, and Gentlemen—It has often fallen to my lot to move a resolution in meetings such as this, but never in my memory have I moved one with more

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perfect conviction of my reason, or more entire concurrence of my heart. (Cheers.) Before I use any further words, it will, perhaps, be better that I should read what that resolution is. It is, "That this meeting, while disclaiming any right or desire to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, and desiring that the most amicable relations between England and Russia should be preserved, feels it a duty to express its opinion that the laws of Russia relating to Jews tend to degrade them in the eyes of the Christian population, and to expose Russian Jewish subjects to the outbreaks of fanatical ignorance." I need not disclaim, for I accept the eloquent disclaimer of the noble lord, that we are not met here for a political purpose. (Hear, hear.) If there were a suspicion of any party politics, I should not be standing here. It is because I believe that we are high above all the tumults of party politics, that we are in the serene region of human sympathy and human justice, that I am here to-day. (Cheers.) I can also declare that nothing can be further from my intention, as I am confident nothing can be further from yours, than to do that which would be a violation of the laws of mutual peace and order, and the respect which binds nations together, or to attempt to interfere or dictate in the domestic legislation of Russia. (Hear, hear.) I am also bound to say that I share heartily in the words of veneration used by the noble earl towards his Imperial Majesty of Russia. No man can have watched the last year of the Imperial family, no man can know the condition in which the Emperor stands now, without a profound sympathy, which would at once bind every disposition to use a single expression which would convey a wound to the mind of the Czar. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, I disclaim absolutely and altogether, that anything that passes from my lips—and I believe I can speak for all—should assume a character inconsistent with veneration for a person charged

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with a responsibility so great. Further, I may say that while we do not pretend to touch upon any question in the internal legislation of Russia, there are laws larger than any Russian legislation—the laws of humanity and of God, which are the foundation of all other laws—(cheers,) and if in any legislation they be violated, all the nations of Christian Europe, the whole commonwealth of civilised and Christian men would instantly acquire a right to speak out aloud. (Cheers.) And now I must touch upon one point, which I acknowledge has been very painful to me. We have all watched for the last twelve months the anti-Semitic movement in Germany. I look upon it with a two-fold feeling—in the first place with horror, as tending to disintegrate the foundations of social life; and, secondly, with great fear lest it might light up an animosity which has already taken flame in Russia and may spread elsewhere. (Hear, hear.) I have read with great regret an elaborate article, full, no doubt, of minute observations, written from Prussia, and published in the *Nineteenth Century*, giving a description of the class animosities, jealousies, and rivalries which are at present so rife in that country. When I read that article my first feeling was one of infinite sorrow that the power and energy of the Old Testament should be so much greater in Brandenburg than those of the New. I am sorry to see that a society penetrated with Rationalism has not so much Christian knowledge, Christian power, Christian character, and Christian virtue as to render it impossible that, cultivated, refined, industrious, and energetic as they are, they should endanger the Christian society of that great kingdom. I have also read with pain accounts of the condition of the Russian Jews, bringing against them accusations which, if I touch upon them, I must ask my Jewish friends near me to believe I reject with incredulity and horror. (Hear, hear.) Neverthless I

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have read that the cause of what has happened in Russia is that the Jews have been pliers of infamous trades—usurers, immoral, demoralising, and I know not what. When I read these accusations I ask, Will they be cured by crime, murder, outrage, abominations of every sort? (Cheers.) Are they not learning the lesson from those who ought to teach a higher? Again, if it be true, which I do not believe, that they are in the condition described, are they not under penal laws? (Hear, hear.) Is there anything that can degrade men more than to close against intelligence, energy, and industry all the honourable careers of public life? (Cheers.) Is there anything that can debase and irritate the soul of man more than to be told, "You must not pass beyond that boundary; you must not go within eighteen miles of that frontier; you must not dwell in that town; you must only live in that province?" (Hear, hear.) I do not know how any one can believe that the whole population can fail to be affected in its inmost soul by such laws, and if it be possible to make it worse this is the mode and the discipline to make it so. They bring these accusations against the Russian Jews; why do they not bring them against the Jews of Germany? By the acknowledgment of the anti-Semitic movement, the Jews in Germany rise head and shoulders above their fellows. (Cheers.) Why do they not bring these accusations against the Jews of France? (Renewed cheers.) Is there any career of public utility, any path of honour, civil or military, in which the Jews have not stood side by side with their countrymen? If the charge is brought against the Jews of Russia, who will bring it against the Jews of England? (Loud cheers.) For uprightness, for refinement, for generosity, for charity, for all the graces and virtues that adorn humanity, where will be found examples brighter or more true of human excellence than in this Hebrew race? (Renewed cheers.)

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And when we are told that the accounts of those atrocities are not to be trusted, I ask if there were to appear in the newspapers long and minute narratives of murder, rapine, and other atrocities round about the Egyptian-hall, in Old Jewry, in Houndsditch, in Shoreditch, if it were alleged that the Lord Mayor was looking on, that the Metropolitan Police did nothing, that the Guards at the Tower were seen mingled with the mob, I believe you would thank any men who gave you an opportunity of exposing and contradicting the statement. (Cries of "Hear, hear.") Well, then, I say we are rendering a public service to the public departments and Ministry of Russia by what we are doing now, and I believe it will carry consolation to the heart of the great Prince who reigns over that vast Empire. (Cheers.) But let me suppose for a moment that these things are true, and I do not found my belief in their truth from what has appeared either in *The Times* newspaper or in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which has confirmed the statements. I hold the proofs in my own hand. (Cheers.) And from whom do they come? From official documents, from the Minister of the Interior, General Ignatieff. (Cheers.) The resolution speaks of the laws of Russia as regards its Jewish subjects. I do not assume to be a jurist in English law, much less to say what the laws of Russia are in this respect. I should not know what to say on the resolution if I did not hold in my hand a rescript of much importance. I hope I shall not be told that, like the *Ukase*, it is a forgery. These horrible atrocities had continued throughout May, June, and July, and in the month of August this document was issued. The first point in it is that it laments and deplores—what? The atrocities on the Jewish subjects of the Czar? By no means, but the sad condition of the Christian inhabitants of the southern provinces. (Hear, hear.) The next point is that the main

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cause of these "movements and riots," as they are called, to which the Russian nation had been a stranger, is but a commercial one. The third point is that the conduct of the Jews has called forth "protests" on the part of the people, as manifested by acts—of what do you think? Of violence and robbery. (Cheers.) Fourthly, we are told by the Minister of the Interior that the country is subject to malpractices which were, it is known, the cause of the agitation. My Lord Mayor, if the logic of this document be calm, the rhetoric and insinuation of it are most inflammatory, and I can hardly conceive how, with that rescript in their hands, the Russian population could not have felt that they were encouraged to go on. (Cheers.) The document then goes on to say, "We have appointed a Commission to inquire" into what? "First, what are the trades of the Jews which are injurious to the inhabitants of the place; and, secondly, what makes it impracticable to put into force the already existing laws limiting the rights of the Jews in the matter of buying and farming land, and trading in intoxicants and usury. Thirdly, how shall these laws be altered so that the Jews can no longer evade them, and what new laws may be passed to prevent their evasion." Besides answering the foregoing questions, the following additional information was sought—first, on usury; secondly, on the number of public-houses; thirdly, on the number of persons in the service of the Jews; fourthly, on the extent and acreage of the land; and lastly, on the number of Jewish agriculturists. We have in our hands the Russian laws affecting the Jewish subjects of the Empire. I would ask what is the remedy for a population in this state? Is it more penal laws? Is it to disqualify them from holding land? Is it to forbid them to send their children to higher places of education? No, my Lord Mayor, I believe that the remedy for this state of things is two-fold—first, the vital supremacy

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of Christian law in all its amplitude. (Cheers.) It was not by laws like these that the Christians won the world and won the Imperial power to execute justice among men. It will not be by laws other than these that the great Imperial power of Russia will blend with the population of the Empire their Jewish subjects. (Hear, hear.) The other remedy I believe to be this, a stern and merciful execution of justice upon evildoers, coupled with a stern and rigorous concession of all that is right in the law of nature and of God to every man. (Cheers.) All that is necessary for the protection of life and limb, and liberty and property—all that constitutes human freedom—this, and nothing less than this, will be the remedy for the evil of which the Minister of the Interior complains. (Hear, hear.) I look very hopefully to what may be the effect of this meeting. Do not let us over-rate it. If we believe that this meeting will have done the work, and that we may cease to speak, its effect will not be what we desire. Let us not underrate it either. I believe that all through the United Kingdom there will be a response to this meeting. (Cheers.) Manchester and Birmingham have begun; and wheresoever the English tongue is spoken throughout the world, that which your lordship has said so eloquently and so powerfully, will be known. I believe at the very moment we are assembled here, a meeting of the same kind is assembled in New York (cheers); and what passes here will be translated into every language of Europe, and will pass even the frontiers of Russia. (Renewed cheers.) Like the light and the air, it cannot be excluded, and wheresoever there is human sympathy, the declarations that are made here and elsewhere will meet with a response that will tend to put an end to these horrible atrocities. There is a book, my lord, which is common to the race of Israel, and to us Christians. That book is a bond between us, and in that

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book I read that the people of Israel are the oldest people upon the earth. Russia and Austria and England are of yesterday compared with the imperishable people which, with an inextinguishable life and immutable traditions and faith in God and in the laws of God, scattered as it is all over the world, passing through the fires unscathed, trampled into the dust, and yet never combining with the dust into which it is trampled, still lives, a witness and a warning to us. (Loud cheers.) We are in the bonds of brotherhood with it. The New Testament rests upon the Old. They believe in half that for which we would give our lives. Let us then acknowledge that we unite in a common sympathy. I read in that book these word, "I am angry with a great anger with the wealthy nations that are at ease, because I was a little angry with Israel, and they helped forward the affliction." That is, My people were scattered, they suffered unknown and unimaginable sufferings, and the nations of the world that dwelt at ease and were wealthy, and had power in their hands, helped forward a very weighty affliction which was upon them all. My lord, I only hope this —that not one man in England who calls himself a civilised or Christian man will have it in his heart to add by a single word to that which this great and ancient and noble people suffer; but that we shall do all we can by labour, by speech, and by prayer to lessen, if it be possible, or at least to keep ourselves from sharing in sympathy with, these atrocious deeds. (Loud cheering.)

Speech of the Rev. CANON FARRAR.

He felt considerable surprise at the amount of opposition which had been offered to this expression of sympathy. It was said that we were founding our indignation upon a mass of falsehoods and exaggerations; that we were desirous of setting English and Russian Society by the ears;

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and that these events were being seized upon by the Opposition to weaken and embarrass the Government of Mr. Gladstone. We should be only too glad to believe that there had been some exaggeration and even some falsehood in the details that had been received of the atrocities committed upon the Jews; nevertheless, it was quite certain that the accounts which had been recorded by all European newspapers were no fictions, and those accounts were in accordance with Russian documents of undisputed authenticity. The suggestion that this was a political agitation was already scattered to the winds. The charge of fostering enmity against Russia was sufficiently disposed of by the names of those who had spoken at the meeting; and with them and others who, by presence or letter approved of it, the first principle of their religion was the universal fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man. (Loud cheers.) He was afraid that the fact that Prince Lobanoff would not transmit the singularly moderate and respectful memorial of the Jews in London did indicate a certain amount of irritation; but nothing was further from the intention of the meeting than to foster such irritation; they only wanted to make a kindly and a friendly remonstrance. From the time when the son of one of the greatest among the early Russian Princes wooed and won the daughter of the last of our Saxon Kings down to the time when a daughter of the Imperial House found, we trusted, a happy home among us, the chief, if not the only interruption in our friendly relations had been occasioned by the Crimean War, the memory of which was so completely effaced that when the Czar perished by the hands of dastardly assassins, we expressed as with one voice the deepest sympathy. Because we were now perfectly friendly, we would not give up our right to raise a remonstrance when a remonstrance was needed; and it

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was impossible to say it was not needed when there had been murder, pillage, and conflagration, and men, women, and innocent children had been left perfectly unprotected, and were still left in trembling apprehension lest they should fall victims to brutal violence. In these circumstances we claimed a right to remonstrate against men of high rank, who by words and actions had fostered this deplorable hatred between race and race; against those Russian officials who had not acted with sufficient energy and promptitude; and against the Russian newspapers who by their articles had swollen these insensate cries of envy and hatred. He did not dream of charging the Russian Church or the Russian Government, or the Emperor, with any complicity in or condonation of these abominable actions. We were perfectly sure that to the Czar and to high ecclesiastics and high-minded Christian Russians these deeds were as abhorrent as they were to us; but for that reason we ought to point out that in the dominions of the Czar there were those who did not share these sentiments or think that greater protection ought to be afforded to the Jews. He fully conceded that the position of the Turkish Government in relation to the Bulgarian atrocities was wholly different from the relation of the Russian Government to the outrages on the Jews; but the crimes were analogous, and in many instances identical; and why were the Bulgarian atrocities to be denounced with burning indignation and the Russian atrocities listened to with freezing apathy? Was it because the sufferers in one case were Bulgarians and in the other were Jews? Was it because the offenders in one case were Mahomedans and in the other Christians; or because one Government was weak and the other mighty? Was it because in one case the atrocities were committed amid the turbulence of war and in the other in the depths of peace; because one were

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a sort of spasm in a comparatively transient agony, and the other the outcome of deep-seated and long-continued disease? It was because we felt friendship that we claimed the right to remonstrate, as we always had done in such cases. It was a positive duty that the voice of England should be heard and that she should not speak with bated breath and whispering humbleness. (Cheers.) It had been our traditional policy to show our sympathy with downtrodden nationalities; and we had fought for Greeks at Navarino, for Turks at Alma and Inkerman, and for what we believed to be the liberties of Europe again and again. The Jews were the most trampled-upon nationality in the world. It was the nation to which humanity owed the deepest debt, and on which humanity had inflicted the deepest wrong. (Cheers.) We were approaching Russia in the most respectful and friendly spirit, and because we were friendly, and because we were mighty, and because the faithful wounds of a friend were better than the deceitful kisses of an enemy, we asked Russia to do what England had done, and to give the Jews equal rights and privileges, which almost every great nation had conceded to them. With us they were loyal and useful citizens, and so they would be in Russia if Russia listened to our appeal. Russia had always shown herself keenly sensitive to European opinion; she had an honourable desire to take what she believed to be her true place among the nations of Europe. We had a higher opinion of Russia than to think that she would wreak indignation because our sympathy had been expressed. We believed that she would follow the example of other nations. The public voice was never more powerful than when raised on the side of right, and, therefore, that voice would now be raised on the side of justice and mercy, and would give no uncertain sound. (Loud Cheers.)

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Letters read by the Right Hon. the LORD MAYOR at the Mansion House Meeting :—

From the Rev. C. H. SPURGEON :—

"I am sorry that I am quite precluded by prior engagements from being at the Mansion House to speak against the outrages committed upon the Jews. I am, however, relieved by the belief that the heart of England is one in a strong feeling of indignation at the inhuman conduct of certain savages in Russia. (Cheers.) Every man and woman among us feels eloquently on behalf of our fellow men, who are subjected to plunder and to death, and still more for our sisters, to whom even worse treatment has been meted out. Hence you have the less need of speeches and orations. As a Christian, I feel that the name of our Redeemer is dishonoured by such conduct on the part of His professed followers. As a Nonconformist and a Liberal, believing in the equal rights of all men to live in freedom and safety, I must protest against a state of things in which the Jew is made an outlaw. Lastly, as a man, I would mourn in my inmost soul that any beings in human form should be capable of crimes such as those which have made Russia red with Israelitish blood. But what need even of these few sentences ? The oppressed are sure of advocates wherever Englishmen assemble."

From the Right Rev. BISHOP of MANCHESTER :—

"As I signed the requisition to the Lord Mayor begging him to call a public meeting at the Mansion House at which an opportunity might be given for the expression of the feeling that, I imagine, is strong in the hearts of all Englishmen with regard to the outrages to which the Jews appear to have been subjected in Russia, I regret that it is out of my power to attend that meeting in person, but the

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Mayor has called a similar meeting in Manchester for February 3, at which I hope to be present, and when I shall have an opportunity of saying what I feel. I will merely say now that these outrages, as they have been reported in England have aroused in my breast the liveliest feelings of pity and indignation. I cannot for a moment believe that any civilised Government could either encourage or connive at them, and it seems to me that the Government of Russia owes it to the place it occupies in Christian Europe to extend the strong arm of its protection to the weak and helpless, and to repress with all the force at its command acts of pillage and violence which one would have thought were only possible in some bygone age of barbarism."

From the Rev. the Chief Rabbi, DR. ADLER, PH.D.:—

"I need hardly assure your lordship how keen is the grief which I share with every member of my community at the pitiable calamities suffered by my co-religionists in Russia. But in the midst of the darkness which over-shadows my oppressed brethren, there is happily a gleam of light. For there appears to me no small probability that deliverance may arise through the influence of the public opinion of free and enlightened England, and through the noble and spontaneous outburst of sympathy from our Christian fellow-countrymen. Grateful, indeed, do I feel in common with every Israelite in this land for the enthusiastic sympathy which has thus found utterance. And the grief which oppresses my heart at the dire woes of my brethren is not a little assuaged by the consoling thought that I have lived to witness in the people of England the noblest development of religious toleration—the union of all creeds on the broad platform of common humanity. May God, our Common Father, bless your philanthropic efforts, and crown them with success!"

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From Mr. TENNYSON (Poet Laureate) :—

"I am unable to be present at the Mansion House on February 1. Not the less am I dismayed by the reports, of this madness of hatred against the Jews (whatever the possible provocation), and of the unspeakable barbarities consequent. If they are not universally denounced, it can only be that they are so alien to the spirit of the age as to be almost unbelievable. The stronger the national protest the better. Our Government, however, may have reason to fear that it may do more harm than good by official intervention."

The Master of Balliol, Oxon (Prof. JOWETT) wrote:—

"The cruelties which have been inflicted on the Jews in Russia, as narrated by the correspondent of *The Times* are detestable, and should be denounced by the unanimous opinion of civilised nations."

From His Grace the DUKE OF WESTMINSTER.

"I am unable to attend the meeting to-morrow. I cannot, however, repress my feeling of horror and of indignation at the barbarities and ruin worked upon the defenceless Jews in Russia. I am afraid there can be no doubt as to an enormous amount of great and hideous wrong-doing, but we want more information, to obtain which every effort should be made, and for acquiring which I believe the Russian Government are willing to give facilities. Meanwhile, I can well understand and can sympathise with the feeling that prompts thousands of our fellow-countrymen to give vent to their indignation against the perpetrators of these barbarities, and of sympathy with those who have suffered and are suffering under these enormities."

From His Grace the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

"My dear Lord,—It is a distress to me that I am for

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bidden by my medical attendant to take part in the meeting your lordship has undertaken to call together, to enter an emphatic protest against the recent outrages to which the Jewish people have been exposed. Unable to attend myself, I have asked Canon Farrar to be present (cheers), and express the horror with which I contemplate the disgrace brought on the Christian name by these shameful persecutions."

VI.

Sermon by the Rev. W. Page Roberts.

Preaching at St. Peter's, Vere Street, the Rev. W. Page Roberts said: "You know I am no friend to pulpit politics, but if politics are out of place in the pulpit, thank God morality is not out of place there, and when we see immorality like that which now disgraces Russia, it is our duty to call attention to it, and boldly to condemn it. It is for us, with others, to do what we can to keep the national conscience sensitive, to maintain a high moral public opinion, and such an opinion will not be without power. The public opinion of its neighbours may be a real strength to a right-minded Government. We may not think that the outrages from which the Jews are suffering in Russia have the countenance of the Government. But they have not been instantaneously and sternly repressed, and once more we see this singular people the victims of ungoverned barbarism. How much the world owes them, and with what strange coin it has paid them for their services! Why we owe more to them than to any nation in the world. Greece and Rome are nothing to Jerusalem. I need not think of eminent men and services in modern days, nor yet of the time of which it has been said that together with the Spanish Arabs 'they kept alive the flame of learning

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during the deep darkness of the Middle Ages.' I take the Bible, Old and New Testament, as a contribution to the wealth of the world, which should make us look upon a Jew with gratitude whenever we see him. What are Horace and Cicero to Isaiah and Paul? We are indebted for our religion, and herein for our civilisation, to the Jews. And yet this is the nation which Christians have ravaged in almost every century. We may blush for the crimes of rabble crusaders, for those of our own country in the time of John, and for those of Spain at the close of the 14th century. But is it not time that these things had come to an end? Do these burning ravaging Christians know that their Saviour—the God they worship—was a Jew? We may plead semi-barbarism as an excuse for the past. Well perhaps it may be pleaded for the Russia of the present. But at least no such plea can be put up for Germany, which lighted the conflagration which now devastates Russia, and for her must remain the sterner condemnation. Humanity, gratitude, and the Christian religion alike, call upon us to denounce the crimes from which an eminent and helpless people are now suffering."

No. VII.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA.

Sermon by the REV. H. R. HAWEIS.

THE Rev. H. R. Haweis, incumbent of St. James', Marylebone, in the course of his admirable sermon on the Russian atrocities made the following observations :—"The position of the Jews in history is unique, their character is exceptional. We owe them a debt which we have repaid for centuries with nothing but usurious cruelty. We owe them a debt which nothing but free handed liberality and out-

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spoken sympathy can discharge. Who are the Jews? What is their history? What is their present position, and what is the right Christian policy towards them? The late atrocities in Russia and Prussia have made them 'crucial' points and 'burning questions' in more senses than one. The Jews are one branch of the great Semitic race that spread itself between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. To the Israelite branch we owe religion in its simplest form, monotheism, morality in its severest form—the decalogue, the inseparable union of morality and religion touched with the afflatus of love in psalm and prophecy. Outwardly, Israel has always been a pathetic, even a romantic figure. The 'Wandering Jew' is more than a legend. The same figure, weird, but irresistibly attractive, crosses the stage of history under various disguises, always full of sublime paradox, always inspired, always humiliated, always triumphant and irrepressible." The preacher then enumerated the acts and characters of the leaders of the Jews in biblical times, and proceeded to briefly describe their history and treatment in Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Greece, Rome, France, and Spain. He then continued: "The causes of persecution have been avowedly religious. In reality they were secular. The Christians often attacked the Jew's ability, and oftener wanted the Jew's money. Whenever the Jews became rich the Christian began to feel that he had crucified Christ, and deserved to be robbed. Nothing is, however, more misleading than to say that the Jewish nation slew Jesus. Jesus was crucified by a timid Governor, Pilate, in obedience to the clamour of a Sadducean priesthood, who were as much hated by the people as Jews were hated by that priesthood. The crucifixion of Christ by the Jewish nation was an historical fraud, not the only one but very nearly the worst. To Russian Christians we must now

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say, you cannot put down the Jew; you cannot prevent him from growing rich and prosperous. If you would share in that wealth and prosperity instead of owning it as receivers of stolen property or coveting it as forbidden fruit, there is but one way. You must give the Jew equal rights, put his life and property under the same protection as your own. We might also remind the Protestant Church in Germany and the Greek Church in Russia of an obscure precept common to the religion of the Christian and the Jew, 'Whatsoever things ye would men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.'"

No. VIII.

Abstract of the Sermon delivered at the Western Synagogue on the 28th January, 1882, by the REV. DR. HERMANN ADLER, *M.A., Ph. D., Delegate Chief Rabbi, on "The Persecution of the Jews in Russia."*

IN olden times when any supreme national crisis arose, it was the practice of our fathers to consult the sacred volume, so that they might learn from its pages what it was incumbent upon them to do. It is told in the Talmud that they took a schoolboy fresh from his studies and said to him, "Repeat the text thou hast learnt in school." Now do not think that this was a mere superstition, a kind of divination. Our sages knew full well that in a time of national trouble the prudent schoolmaster would teach his young charges such Bible texts as would afford them guidance and wholesome practical counsel for the crisis. Such a passage from Sacred Scriptures has been continually in my thoughts since the time that the terrible news from Russia arrived. It tells us the duty of the hour with a pathos and emphasis such as only inspiration can supply. The words are to be found

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in the Book of Proverbs, chapter xxiv., verses 10-12 : "If thou art faint in the day of adversity, thy strength is small. If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death and those that are ready to be slain; If thou sayest, Behold we knew it not; doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it? And He that keepeth thy soul, doth not He know it? And shall not He render to every man according to his works?" What a significant text! The most natural emotion when some great trouble overwhelms those about us is to be paralysed, to despair of giving any help, of doing aught to relieve the misery. Solomon denounces such inaction as altogether unworthy of true manhood. "If thou art faint in the day of adversity, thy strength is small." The trouble shall only stimulate us to put forth all our strength, to help the oppressed to the uttermost of our power. Oh deliver those that are drawn unto death, withdraw those that totter to the slaughter. We dare not acquiesce in cruel tyranny. We dare not hush up a wrong with the false plea of ignorance. "If thou sayest, Behold we knew it not; doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it, and shall He not render to every man according to his works?" Sooner or later, dire punishment will overtake us if we neglect a duty, which every precept of religion, every dictate of humanity presses upon us.

Surely no one here present, no member of the house of Israel, no member of the great brotherhood of nations can deny that this is a day of adversity unto us. "It is a time of sore trouble to Jacob." It is not the first time that Israel has had to suffer from persecution in our own days. Some of you here present will remember the horror that thrilled all right-thinking men when the tidings reached these shores that innocent men had been tortured and slain on the false charge of having killed an Italian priest, Father Tomaso, at Damascus. We heard with sorrow that some

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of our brethren had been killed, others ill-treated and imprisoned in Morocco. We grieved when we heard that the Jews of Roumania suffered from so many galling disabilities and restrictions. We remember with gratitude how the venerable champion, Sir Moses Montefiore, went in 1846 to plead at the throne of the Czar Nicholas that a Ukase should be repealed which would have caused many thousands of Russian Jews to be removed from the frontiers, from the homesteads which they had occupied for many years. But the present crisis is altogether of a different complexion. Think of the outrages that during a period of nine months have raged in upwards of 160 towns and villages in the Ukraine and in the West of the Russian empire, barbarities that recall the dark ages in their darkest phases — the pillages and wanton destruction of property, the wounding, the burning, and the butcheries, tender children flung from casements, and worst of all—the deeds of violence, worse than death, perpetrated upon chaste matrons and innocent maidens. We had hoped almost against hope that these deeds had been perpetrated by the ignorant and fanatical populace, but that the Government looked upon them with disfavour. This hope is, alas! now vanishing. The lamentable fact forces itself upon us more and more that the Central Government itself is against us. Instead of adequately punishing the malefactors and repressing the outrages with a strong hand, it almost encourages them by the leniency of its penalties. In the Rescript recently issued, the whole question is prejudged, and the Jews themselves are stigmatised as having brought on the national rising by their own misdeeds. The result of this circular is making itself already too sadly felt. In many localities our brethren, still smarting from the calamities that had befallen them, have been driven from the towns and villages they had inhabited for many

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years. I have heard from the lips of some of the refugees that it is unsafe in some towns for a Jew to walk abroad. We hear with dismay the recommendations which some of the provincial commissions sent forth, that the Jews shall be restricted more and more in the pursuit of every trade and profession, so that means of subsistence shall be denied to them. It is intended virtually to close schools and universities against them, for only a certain small proportion of the Jewish population will be allowed to attend these educational institutions. Nay, tidings reach us that it has been proposed by some of the commissions to expatriate the Jews. We have addressed a petition to the Czar, but our memorial has been rejected and not allowed to reach its destination. Surely, on hearing all this, must we not confess with dismay and bitter grief "It is a time of trouble unto Jacob." Indeed it was no exaggeration on the part of the venerable and philanthropic peer, Lord Shaftesbury, when he spoke of these calamities as equalling those which accompanied the destruction of Jerusalem. A day of adversity it undoubtedly is. Have they who should be the leaders of action on the part of the English community, been faint at this crisis? The charge has been made in certain quarters that the Russo-Jewish Committee has been altogether apathetic and remiss, that we have apparently not recognised the gravity and urgency of the work before us, that we, the wealthy Jews of London, are too much lapped in luxury to accurately perceive what such emergencies require. Now, brethren, I am always very reluctant to enter into polemics in the pulpit, especially when they bear on personal matters. Yet I cannot forbear from alluding to this accusation. For as minister of a Jewish congregation, acting as I do on behalf of our venerated Chief Rabbi, I solemnly declare that I am unworthy to hold my office, I am unworthy

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to stand in this sacred place, to teach you your duty, if I had neglected my duty—a duty than which none can be more urgent and more sacred—in this instance. Heaven knows that since the first tidings of these troubles came to us, nine months ago, I have been endeavouring to devise means with the help of the leaders of the Community how to meet this grave crisis. But I do not speak as an individual, but as a member of the Committee which has been elected by the representatives of the Community to deal with the whole subject. Our deliberations have been carried on in strict privacy for obvious reasons, and I do not wish to betray aught that should be kept secret. But I am guilty of no indiscretion if I assert, that when the history of these events will be written, it will be found that the great work which has thus far been achieved, that the press of England has been roused to take cognizance of the present condition of the Jews of Russia, that the great heart of England has been mightily stirred and is throbbing with noble sympathy, is mainly due to the Russo-Jewish Committee. I do not deny that we have been engaged in a long and anxious deliberation. But then realise to yourselves the difficulties by which the subject is encompassed. We had to ascertain the facts and carefully sift them, so that there might be no exaggeration in our statements. This, I can assure you, has been no easy matter. For you have read how in an official communication in one of the Russian newspapers, it is stated that there is no foundation whatever for the charge that deeds of violence have been perpetrated upon women. Would to heaven this were so! As I call to mind the facts communicated by eye-witnesses I cannot but state that with respect to these heartrending incidents Russian brutality is only equalled by Russian mendacity. Despotic and tyrannical governments in all ages pursue the same tactics. You will remember what Pharaoh

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said on a similar occasion, "Let more work be laid upon the men, that they may labour therein, and let them not regard false words."

This has been a task devolving upon the Russo-Jewish Committee, but there is a portion of the work in which you are all called upon to join. I need not ask you to meet in large numbers at the Mansion House on Wednesday next, for I am sure your own hearts impel you to show your gratitude for the noble and spontaneous outburst of sympathy, which will there find expression, and which we hope will touch even the hearts of the Czar and his advisers. It is wise that on that occasion only our Christian friends should speak, but it will rest with you to act. It is earnestly to be hoped that the indignant protest that will be raised by our foremost men, without reference to religion, rank, politics, or party, will contribute to prevent the recurrence of the outrages. But the condition of our co-religionists is yet pitiable in the extreme. I need not refer in detail to the tale of sorrow that has been repeated so often; you know as well as I that there are thousands and thousands of families who have been reduced to beggary. At the Mansion House meeting a fund will be raised for the permanent amelioration of the condition of our brethren in Russia, by relieving the existing wretchedness and by promoting emigration. Those that have given their close attention to the subject have come to the conclusion that the policy of the middle ages must be repeated. When the Jews felt the cruel hand of the oppressor weighing upon them in the land of their habitation, they forsook the inhospitable shores and went to other countries in which they might hope for protection. But it was with sad hearts that they wandered forth from the land which had given them birth, for they left behind them the remains of those who had been near and dear to them.

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It is proposed to further emigration not alone to the United States of America, but also to Canada and Australia, and it is hoped that some might be settled in the Holy Land, so that every man might once more live in peace and happiness under his vine and fig tree. To carry out this object effectually, a fund of not less than one million sterling will be required. I have received a letter from that noble and philanthropic lady, the Viscountess Strangford, who informs me that she is organising a Ladies' Fund, which is to be a mark of sympathy coming from English women for Jewish suffering, and a token of gratitude for Jewish benevolence. But the bulk of the fund must come from us. We must sacrifice a part of our luxuries, our pleasures, aye, our comforts. It will not avail us to say that the reports which have come to us are exaggerated, that the evil does not concern us, and that we have our own poor to help. "If thou sayest, Behold we knew it not, doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it, and He that keepeth the soul doth not He know it, and shall He not render to every man according to his works."

Let us enter some of the Jewish homes in Russia. Here is a man who enjoyed prosperity, but he was robbed of his all, and is now reduced to utter destitution. With his wife and young children he lives on a miserable pittance, and he is eagerly awaiting deliverance from his house of bondage. Let us enter another home. An old man, prematurely aged, lies on a sick bed. His wife has died from the effects of the horrible deeds of violence that were perpetrated upon her, and his daughter has been bereft of her senses by the doings of that dreadful day of rioting. Oh, my brethren, will you not bring help? "Deliver those that are drawn unto death, withdraw those that are ready to be slain," withdraw them from the prison-house in

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which they are confined. Do not remain callous to their woe!

And now, my brethren, join with me in prayer to the Almighty on behalf of our unfortunate brothers and sisters in faith. Let us invoke His blessing on the words that will be spoken at the Mansion House on Wednesday next.

Almighty God! We heard and our hearts trembled, our lips quivered, at the tidings of all the travail that has come upon our brethren in the land of Russia. Our heart is broken within us because they are given over to the hands of the murderer and the despoiler. Oh Lord! Thou hast vouchsafed Thy promise that Thou will not cast us away or destroy us utterly. We beseech Thee to hearken to the cries of Thy people in the North. Bless every effort made to liberate those who are given over to death. Deliver those who tremble for their lives and for the honour of their kindred. Grant that the words which will be spoken within the coming week, in the name of Humanity and Justice, will not return void, but will accomplish their sacred purpose. Inspire the hearts of the rulers of that land with a spirit of mercy and justice, so that Israel may walk there in peace with no man to make them afraid. Oh remember us with Thy favour and visit us with Thy salvation! Amen!

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